

**Germany's Military Heroes of the
Napoleonic Era in Her Post-War
Historical Drama**



HAROLD EVERETT STEARNS, JR.

1940

Germany's Military Heroes of the
Napoleonic Era in Her Post-War
Historical Drama

Currents of German Nationalism in Recent
Historical Plays.

HAROLD EVERETT STEARNS, JR.

*A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the University of Michigan*

1940

Copyright 1939

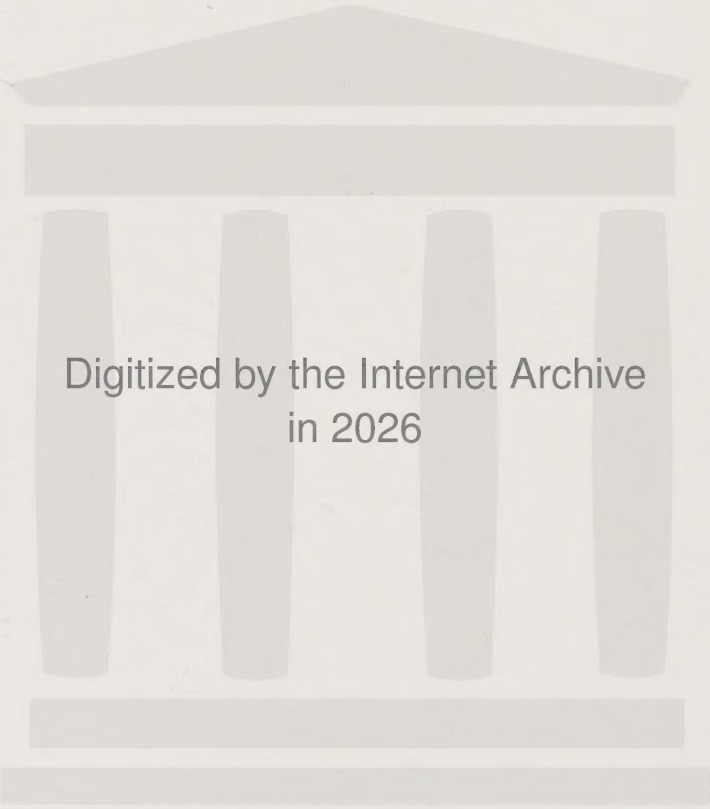
H. E. STEARNS, JR.



Pittsburgh Printing Co.

FOR MY BROTHER
ELIJAH ARMS STEARNS

... quae sunt Caesaris Caesari ...



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

PREFATORY NOTE

From my sojourn in Germany, 1926-1930, I retained a vivid impression of the people's attachment to their historical past as was manifest, in particular, in the marked popularity of dramas and films based on events from their history. Later, when my natural interest, deepened by knowledge acquired in pursuit of academic studies, led me to seek a subject in the field of German drama, the potential significance of this impression suggested itself and the present theme seemed to offer a convenient starting point for probing this significance.

I am deeply indebted to Professor Fred B. Wahr of the University of Michigan for his wise and indispensable counsel in guiding the development of the work while skilfully encouraging me to complete independence of investigation and expression, and for his keen interest in the subject itself. I wish to acknowledge, further, my gratitude to Professor Henry W. Nordmeyer, also of the University of Michigan, for a like sympathetic interest in the work and its progress, and for his important and welcome advice in questions pertaining to bibliography.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
PART ONE	
I. Résumé of the Dramas Concerned With Military Heroes	7
II. Discussion According to Hero Groups	9
A. The <i>Schill</i> Plays	9
Lienhard: <i>Schills Offiziere</i>	11
Solms: <i>Vor der Zeit</i>	13
Klimsch: <i>Die Schillschen</i>	15
Brauny: <i>Schill. Ein deutsches Heldengedicht</i>	17
Buchhorn: <i>Schill</i>	20
Lampel: <i>Putsch: Oder die Männer um Schill</i>	23
B. The <i>Yorck</i> Plays	27
Kaibel: <i>Hochverrat</i>	29
Kyser: <i>Schicksal um Yorck</i>	33
Ernst: <i>Yorck</i>	35
Lissauer: <i>Yorck</i>	39
C. The <i>Gneisenau</i> Plays	45
Goetz: <i>Neidhardt von Gneisenau</i>	46
Leyst: <i>Gneisenau und Napoleon</i>	52
D. The <i>Louis Ferdinand</i> Plays	55
Unruh: <i>Louis Ferdinand Prinz von Preussen</i>	57
Schwarz: <i>Prinz von Preussen</i>	61
E. <i>Der 18. Oktober</i>	68

PART TWO: SPECIAL ASPECTS OF THE POLITICO-
LITERARY PHENOMENON THAT IN-
VOLVE THE PLAYS IN GENERAL

	Page
I. Introduction	73
II. The Special Themes	74
A. Expressions of Faith in Germany's Immortality	74
B. References to Frederick the Great	76
C. Adoration of Queen Louise	79
D. The "Schandpakt" Parallel	83
E. Attitude toward France and the French	87
F. Common Soldier Scenes and Sentiments	95
G. The "Unpatriotic" German	100
H. Criticism of the Hohenzollerns	106
I. Significance of the Duty versus Inclination Motif	110
J. The <i>Preussen-Deutschland</i> Theme	114
CONCLUSION	125
Appendix I. Alfred Steinitzer: <i>Und dennoch!</i>	129
Appendix II. List of Plays First Performed or First Published 1919-1935 Which Are Based on Some Phase of German History 1803-1815	131
GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY	141

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Nothing could be more natural for so history-conscious a people as the Germans, in their great spiritual and material distress following the Great War, than to turn to their rich and tumultuous past in search for landmarks of tradition that would sustain their consciousness of the continuity of national life. The substance of history could yield them at least a partial explanation for their bewildering predicament. They needed guidance and comfort and a source, as well, from which they could nourish their wavering self-confidence: the tragic experiences of their past could strengthen a healthy self-critical mood; its glories could inspire them with renewed faith in themselves and in their national destiny. History was filled with meaning for the German people because they believed in their immortality as a politico-cultural entity.

This belief is eloquently attested by the tremendous attraction that national historical drama has held for the Germans since the war.¹ Roughly one-fourth of the total dramatic production in Germany since 1918 has been on historical themes, the major portion of which were naturally taken from German history.² In the re-presentation of the significant communal struggles of their ancestors they often found a compelling reflection if not, indeed, a revelation of the significance of their own actions and experiences, and the confusion of emotions they engendered—resignation and despair, hate and fear, pride and hope, and resolution. The numerous tragedies that depicted the period of the Reformation and Peasant Wars, the Thirty Years' War, were reminders poignant enough of what might be the outcome of the fateful internal dissension of their own day. How intimately concerned

¹ The general significance of historical drama in post-war Germany and its place in the development of German dramatic literature as a whole are well described by Dietz: *Das hist. Drama vor dem Umbruch*, (Düsseldorf: Nolte, 1935; Bonn diss., 1933), pp. 1-10. Of less value is a tedious compendium of all manner of political plays by M. Peine entitled *Das politisch-hist. Drama v. 1923 bis 1933* (Berlin: Triltsch u. Huther, 1936; Greifswald diss., 1935). Its author has, moreover, abandoned all pretense of scholarly objectivity to embrace a politico-racist theory of literature of doubtful foundation.

² The production of the whole period has been analysed statistically by W. Frels in a series of articles appearing periodically since 1924. Cf. list thereof in the General Bibliography.

they were with this tragically recurring phenomenon in their national life is clearly indicated by the remarkable post-war popularity of Hauptmann's *Florian Geyer*, which had been a failure in the prosperous nineties. On the other hand the Germans could and did take heart and pride in the contemplation of their national hero, Frederick the Great, glorious and triumphant in the face of great adversity. Increasingly frequent performances of *Die Hermannsschlacht* and *Prinz von Homburg* show that Kleist's clarion call for national coöperation and regeneration, tragically mute in his own day, echoed with renewed significance in theirs.³

The post-war Germans were attracted most strongly, however, to those turbulent years between Jena and Waterloo, when the course of events in Germany was overshadowed by the power and personality of Napoleon. For Napoleonic Germany, internally chaotic and externally impotent, offered so many obvious and significant parallels to their own era that a peculiar kinship to that generation of Germans—the generation for which Kleist wrote—was felt. That generation, too, had known the bitterness of utter defeat and helplessness, the hardships and humiliation of foreign oppression and control; had been shaken to the depths by forces of national disintegration and internecine conflict. But patriotism as a vital principle had reasserted itself in heroic fashion and that generation had emerged with a notable, although partial, victory for the ideal of a united and independent Germany. Could not they do likewise?

Scores of would-be Kleists appeared who produced dramatizations of personalities and events of the Germany of 1806-15 to confront a receptive public with this suggestion, implied or expressed. And if the author of a particular play with this national content was not primarily concerned about fulfilling a patriotic mission, his audience was ready and able to put its own measure of emphasis on the nationalistic sentiments it naturally

³ Approximate statistics on the performances of all Kleist's plays for the seasons 1923/24-1927/28 have been gathered by Hans Knudsen and published in the *Kleist-Jahrbücher* covering these years. Average number of performances for the patriotic plays during these five seasons: *Hermannsschlacht*, 44; *Prinz von Homburg*, 125. High watermark was reached in the 1924/25 season when the former was performed 62 times and the latter, 225.

contained. The record of dramatic production shows that over one hundred plays based on the Napoleonic period of German history were first performed or first published between 1919 and 1935:⁴ convincing proof of the preponderant interest in this period on the part of the dramatist, and at the same time a gauge of the corresponding popular interest. Further contributory proof of this wide-spread interest is furnished by the numerous second and even third editions during these years of plays on the same subject written before the war by authors who are for the most part unimportant. Finally there are a few modest parallels to *Florian Geyer*, among them two plays dealing with the Tyrolean peasant-hero, Andreas Hofer. Karl Schönherr's *Der Judas von Tirol* was written in 1895 but first performed in 1927;⁵ and Franz Kranewitter's *Andre Hofer* (1902) was revived with great success in Munich in 1922.⁶

The purpose of this dissertation is to illuminate the various phases of the kinship suggested above between Napoleonic Germany and the Germany since the Great War as they are apparent in the body of contemporary plays. In the interests of proper concentration and effectiveness the discussion is confined to that portion of these plays wherein a military hero is the central figure or dominant spirit. This limitation is convenient without being exclusive, for the spirit and panorama of the whole Napoleonic era in Germany will be naturally revealed in these dramas of military heroes who were, for the most part, central figures in the life-drama of their turbulent and martial time. National heroes in general, military heroes in particular, ever nourish patriotic consciousness in all its phases and become objects of national longing in times of stress. Thus significant reactions of the post-war generation are made evident in the dramatic presentation of each hero and in the reception accorded him by the German public.

The period 1919-35, like that of 1806-15, was one of kaleidoscopic change, but for the purposes of our historico-literary comparison it is here considered as a unit and only the peaks of

⁴ An approximately complete list is appended to this study.

⁵ At Cologne, Nov. 26, 1927. Cf. *Die Literatur* XXX (1927/28), 231.

⁶ Cf. pp. 13-14 of preface by Hans Bator to edition of play in the series, *Deutsche Hausbücherei*, no. 120 (Vienna: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag).

change within the span of these years are given special attention. Although a sharp line of demarcation might seem warranted for 1933, from the perspective of historical evolution the events since that year represent largely an intensification of political and social tendencies that had been in evidence since the war.⁷ This intensification is clearly reflected by the flood of patriotic dramas that has fed the more exuberant, self-assertive nationalism of the years 1933-35. Those plays deriving their themes from the period 1806-15 were, as before, by far the most numerous.⁸

A definitely circumscribed sector of the general field of German drama is to be presented. Stress will be given, however, to the broad implications of this literature as a single but extremely important articulation of the underlying national life which is the source of its existence. From this point of view the ultimate material, or better, concern of this thesis is the German People of 1919 to 1935. A comprehensive understanding of their national historical drama must, theoretically at least, assume a consideration of all the emotions, thoughts, reflections, desires of the German people relative to themselves as conscious Germans; in short, a consideration of all that which makes up their national consciousness. Since consciousness is an individual variant, this theoretical comprehensiveness is in effect limited to a consideration of important common factors.

Again, from this point of view, each individual German of the period was potentially an author: that is, he possessed the desire to express his experiential life as a conscious German of his time. Actually, of course, only the fractional few were articulate in this sense. Inasmuch as these few, by objectivising their partial perception and understanding of their time in the dress of historical drama, express common factors of national consciousness, they may be justly taken as representative of the many. Fortunately, in the case of drama reaching the stage this representative character is adequately confirmed and defined by audience-response, which indeed really completes a play. The

⁷ Fundamentally the same viewpoint is taken by Arthur Rosenberg in his history of post-war Germany: *A History of the German Republic*, (London: Methuen, 1936); cf. Preface, ix.

⁸ An average of 11 plays per year dealt with this period. Cf. list in App. II.

participation of the individual in the audience-response is in a real sense the extent to which he realizes his potentiality for cultural expression. The reaction of the reader of a play, although it differs in several respects and lacks public confirmation, is just as real a form of expression.⁹ For the group of plays with which we are concerned the response of reader or spectator reflects the extent to which the post-war German realizes what significance the course of German national life from 1806-15 holds for himself and for his own period. The opening paragraphs have indicated a record of dramatic production that gives imposing evidence of this significance.

Of course most of the individuals who realized their potentiality as authors did not reach very high into the regions of artistic achievement. The national drama dealing with the Napoleonic era contains almost all levels of authorship, from the lifeless verbiage of the talentless dilettante and crude distortions of the halfpenny hackwriter to the eminent dramatic and spiritual qualities of the best authors. Even the lowest levels are considered in this thesis which is concerned primarily with the plays as a cultural phenomenon and only secondarily with their literary attributes. All the dramatists have drawn their inspirational and material aliment from the people of whom they are a part and thus represent, according to talent, purpose, and inspiration, a rising succession of expressions of the national consciousness of the present as affected by the national life of the Napoleonic period. This succession from a broad popular base suggests the use of a pyramid for a graphical interpretation of the phenomenon under consideration.¹⁰ The presentation of the material will follow, in a general way, the pyramidal interpretation, which implies agreement in principle with Richard

⁹ For suggestive remarks on the psychological aspects of the difference between dramatic reader and spectator, cf. Hans-Joachim Flechtner, "Buchdrama und Bühnenschauspiel," *Die Literatur*, XXVIII, (1925/26), 457-461.

¹⁰ Cf. diagram inserted opposite page 7 which is intended to indicate a method of classifying all the plays listed in App. II as well as those selected for treatment here.

Benz' conception of culture as explained by Mahrholz in his treatise, *Literargeschichte und Literaturwissenschaft*:

Die scharfe Scheidung zwischen 'hoher Kunst' und Volkskunst besteht nach dieser Auffassung nicht zu Recht; stufenweise von der breiten Basis volkstümlicher Kunstübung heraufsteigend, gipfelt die Kultur in den grossen Werken der hohen Kunst, in denen grundsätzlich die gleichen Mächte und Tendenzen wirksam sind, wie in den volkhafte gebundenen Werken einer noch nicht individualisierten, mehr typisierenden Kunst.¹¹

¹¹ 2d ed. (Leipzig: Kröner, 1932), p. 177.

HIGH ART

GENUINE ART

MEDIOCRE ART

INFERIOR ART

VOLKSKUNST

VOLK

HIGH TRAGEDY

ARTISTIC DISTILLATION
OF THE POPULAR BASE: PLAYS
OF REAL LITERARY AND DRAMATIC
VALUE AND INTEREST

IDEENDRAMA CHARAKTERDRAMA
SCHAUSPIEL

THE AVERAGE DRAMATIC PRODUCTION:

PLAYS BY PROFESSIONAL WRITERS FOR THE PROFESSIONAL STAGE
EXTREMES OF STAGE SUCCESS REPRESENTED

OFTEN MORE EMPHASIS ON PRESENT THAN ON HISTORY
DOKUMENTENSTUECK—TENDENZDRAMA—AKTIVISTISCHES
DRAMA—GESINNUNGSTHEATER

LAIENSPIELE OF SOME VALUE:
WRITTEN BY AUTHOR OF REPUTE,
OR HAVE OBTAINED REGULAR STAGE
PERFORMANCE

MASS PRODUCTION FOR AMATEUR STAGE CONSUMPTION: COMMERCE IN PROVINCIAL AND SCHOOL-BOY PATRIOTISM

THE FEW WHO DO
BECOME ARTICULATE
IN DRAMA
VOLKSKUNST

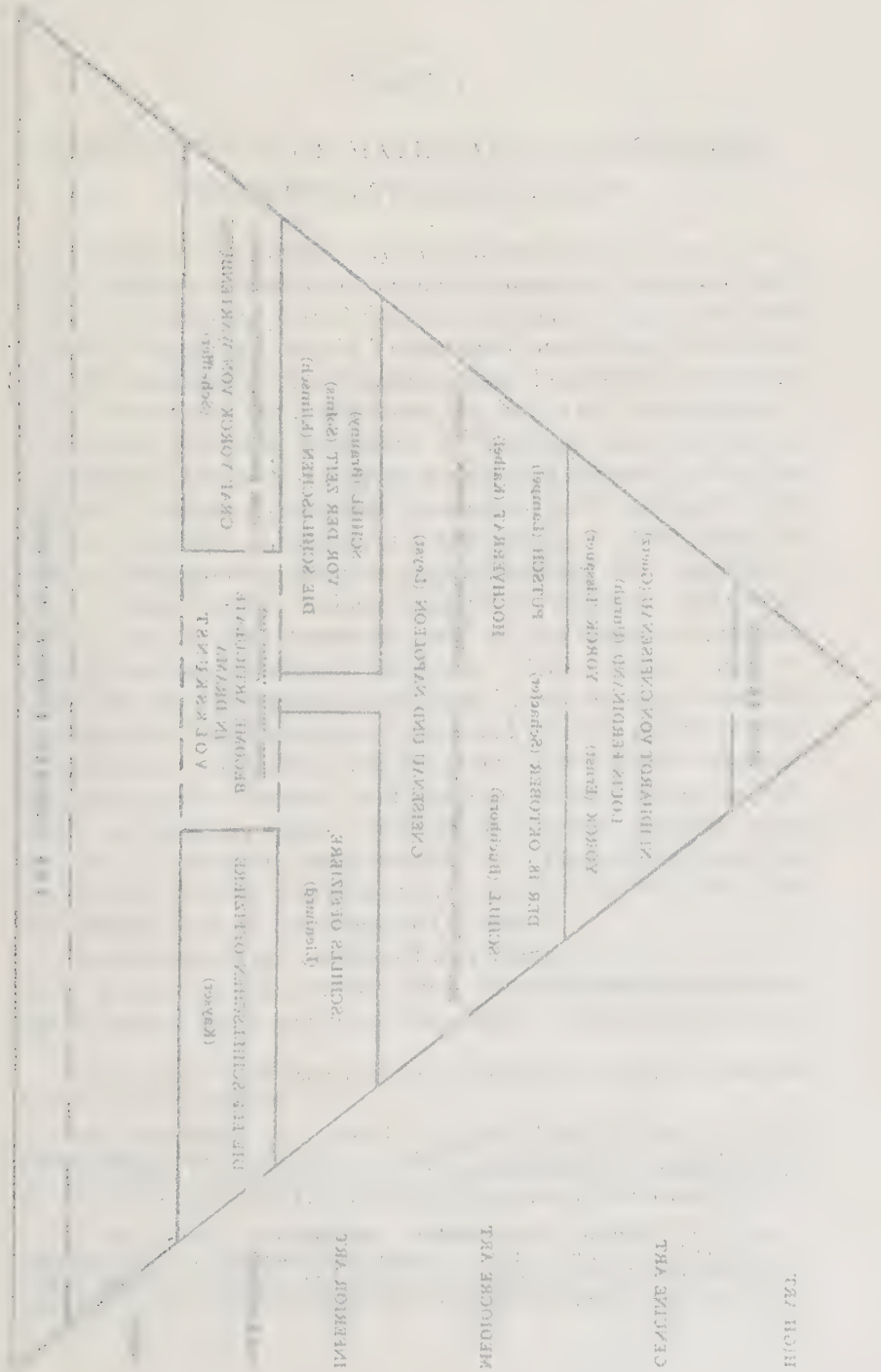
CLOSED DRAMAS OF SLIGHT SIGNIFICANCE: HAVE BEEN PERFORMED ON REGULAR STAGE OR ARE INTERESTING AS EXPERIMENTS IN FORM

COMPLETELY INSIGNIFICANT
PLAYS BY DILETTANTES; NO LITERARY OR DRAMATIC VALUE; INTEREST CONFINED TO SUBJECT MATTER

EACH INDIVIDUAL POTENTIALLY AN AUTHOR: WOULD DESIRE TO EXPRESS SELF IN RELATION TO HIS TIME; HERE BY OBJECTIVISING HIS PARTIAL PERCEPTION AND UNDERSTANDING OF THIS TIME IN THE DRESS OF HISTORICAL DRAMA

ALL THE EMOTIONS, THOUGHTS, REFLECTIONS, DESIRES OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE
CONCERNING THEMSELVES AS CONSCIOUS GERMANS (NATIONALES BEWUSSTSEIN)

THE GERMAN PEOPLE 1919-1935



ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ОБЩЕСТВО
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ
СВЯТЫХ ДУХОВ

ИНТЕРНОВ УЛ

МЕОЮСВЕ УЛ

СЕАСТЕ УЛ

НОВ УЛ

HIGH ART

GENUINE ART

MEDIOCRE ART

INFERIOR ART

VOLKSKUNST

VOLK

HIGH TRAGEDY

NEIDHARDT VON GNEISENAU (Goetz)

LOUIS FERDINAND (Unruh)

YORCK (Ernst)

YORCK (Lissauer)

DER 18. OKTOBER (Schaefer)

PUTSCH (Lampel)

SCHILL (Buchhorn)

HOCHVERRAT (Kaibel)

PRINZ VON PREUSSEN (Schwarz)

SCHICKSAL UM YORCK (Kyser)

GNEISENAU UND NAPOLEON (Leyst)

SCHILLS OFFIZIERE,
(Lienhard)

SCHILL (Brauny)

VOR DER ZEIT (Solms)

DIE SCHILLSCHEN (Klimsch)

DIE ELF SCHILLSCHEN OFFIZIERE
(Kayser)

THE FEW WHO DO
BECOME ARTICULATE
IN DRAMA
VOLKSKUNST

DER DEUTSCHE REITER (Rosikat)
GRAF YORCK VON WARTENBURG
(Scheffler)

THE GERMAN PEOPLE 1919-1935

PART I

PRESENTATION OF MATERIAL AND DISCUSSION ACCORDING TO HERO GROUPS

A résumé of the "hero" plays which have been chosen as historico-dramatic evidence of the consciousness of post-war Germany of its kinship with Napoleonic Germany reveals that the fiery Schill and the stern old Yorck stand out in their hold on the popular imagination. (See diagram inserted opposite). There are eight variations of the Schill theme and five of the Yorck theme.¹² The former is treated principally in categories near the base of the pyramid; the latter, at higher levels. The dramatic portrayals of Louis Ferdinand (two) and Gneisenau (two) were attempted only by authors of intellectual competence.¹³ The figure of Blücher, traditionally the most popular military hero, apparently does not lend itself to serious dramatic development. As titular hero he is accorded treatment only by hacksters writing for schoolboys and provincial dilettantes. This type of play, to which *Die elf Schillschen Offiziere* by Kayser belongs, is usually included in a "theatrical series" promoted by some publisher who specializes in cultivating and supplying the market indicated. The number of such plays with patriotic subject matter is very large, and they represent a mixture of business and patriotism on a scale approaching mass production.¹⁴ Their content may be expected to disclose a crudeness and puerility corresponding to the cultural level of the interested groups.

This is not to be interpreted as a blanket indictment of the plays written for the amateur stage, which indeed has in recent years become more and more the object of considerable atten-

¹² Two other Yorck plays cited in the general list in App. II, nos. 46 and 85, were not available.

¹³ Not included in this remark is a third Louis Ferdinand play, *Die wilden Männer dulden es nicht*, by Rudolf Schiller (App. II, no. 6), which was unavailable. Plays dealing with Archduke Charles of Austria (App. II, nos. 63, 65, 100) have been omitted for purposes of concentration.

¹⁴ The series, *Vaterländische Aufführungen*, published by Danner (Mühlhausen) is prominent and typical. Similar series are published by Teich, Strauch (Leipzig), and others. All series and individual titles are available in the *Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis* for the years concerned.

tion and endeavor on the part of serious and competent people in the various branches of theatrical art.¹⁵ One of the Schill plays written for the amateur stage, for instance, *Schills Offiziere*, is from the pen of a writer of sound literary reputation, Friedrich Lienhard. Other examples could be mentioned.¹⁶ Playlets and sketches of this type are obviously free from any stigma of commercialism. The effort they represent may be commended for sincerity of patriotic and cultural purpose. Moreover they are further evidence in support of the pyramid as illustrating a phenomenological unit, and they explain why this general type should receive some consideration.

The four closet dramas concerned with Schill are scarcely to be thought of as additions to literature but three of them contain at least traces of talent in literary expression and thus offer material, interesting in content and form, that shows more individuality of dramatic expression. The one available closet drama dealing with General Yorck, Scheffler's *Graf Yorck von Wartenburg*, is as perfectly negative a contribution to dramatic expression as one can think of, but it has satisfied the "literary" urge of its well-intentioned but wholly talentless author. It belongs at the lowest level and with it, Rosikat's *Der deutsche Reiter* (i.e., Schill), which, although more interesting as to content, is otherwise almost as insignificant.¹⁷

The stage plays by professional writers vary considerably in respect to literary quality and theatrical success and they are not necessarily of more literary value than the better closet dramas. The majority are more important as mediums of opinion than as mediums of artistic expression, and their use—which is just as often, abuse—of history to emphasize current patriotic sentiments is quite obvious. In other words, they are examples of a general type of play written wholly or partly with a view to

¹⁵ The best lists of recent works on the amateur stage are to be found in the comprehensive and indispensable bibliographies of theatrical literature compiled by Dr. Ignaz Gentges and appearing in the yearbook, *Das Deutsche Theater*, (Bonn: Schroeder, 1923, 1924) I, II, and continued, 1924 through 1929, in the symposium, *Thespis*, (Berlin: Bühnenvolksbund, 1930).

¹⁶ As *Andreas Hofer* by the crusader for drama reform, Richard Elsner. Cf. App. II, no. 17.

¹⁷ These two plays are accordingly given no special treatment in Part I and included only for illustrative purposes in Part II. The same applies to *Die elf Schillschen Offiziere* by Kayser.

using the stage to advocate some conviction or cause, political, social, moral or religious, in which the author is currently interested. For this "play with a purpose" the Germans have various terms, each bearing a slightly distinct connotation, such as *Gesinnungstheater*, *aktivistisches Drama*, and *Tendenztstück*.¹⁸

In the last group are plays which represent the highest level attained by contemporary dramatic production. They have achieved general recognition as embodying considerable intrinsic literary and dramatic value. The judgment of differences in quality within the group is a matter for individual opinion, but they all contain at least a significant minimum of relatively lasting artistic expression which is essentially personal, mature, and genuine. The inception of each, or its effectiveness on the stage, or both, have their origin in the national consciousness, and as a group they therefore may be looked upon as the artistic distillation of the popular base.

THE SCHILL PLAYS

Historical Sketch

The thirty-three year old Saxon-born Major Ferdinand von Schill was in the spring of 1809 in command of a cavalry regiment in Berlin. Of a bold, fiery nature, attractive if not handsome, he had already captured the public imagination by his success and daring as a leader of a volunteer troop that harassed the French around Kolberg in 1806-07. He was deeply affected by the humiliating state of his country following the Peace of Tilsit (1807) and when to his disgust Frederick William III refused to help Austria in her popular war against Napoleon (1809) he rashly resolved to precipitate matters himself.

On April 28, Schill led his fully accoutred regiment to the drill grounds outside Berlin and then announced his intention of

¹⁸ Interesting discussions of the merits and demerits of this dramatic category are offered by: J. Bab, *Befreiungsschlacht*, chapter, "Politisches Theater," (Stgt: Engelhorn, 1928); and T. A. Meyer, "Aktivistisches Drama und seine Problematik," *ZfDtk*, XLV, (1931), 273-290. Meyer defines *aktivistisches Drama* as "*Gesinnungstheater im guten Sinn*," and cites *Kabale und Liebe* and *Die Weber* as older examples. *Politisches Theater*, in which the Berlin Piscator Theater of the 1920's specialized, is the other extreme of *Gesinnungstheater*. Ernst Toller (*Masse Mensch*, *Feuer aus den Kesseln*) is a leading proponent of this type of play.

initiating open warfare against the French. He hoped that the king would lend silent approval to his action and that his raiding expedition would inspire an irresistible popular uprising against the foreign oppressors. Although there were vague plans for coördinating the revolt with similar uprisings of a Colonel Dörnberg in Westphalia, and of the Duke of Brunswick, Schill conducted his campaign in a hasty, impulsive, planless manner. His column, moving along the lower Elbe after several successful skirmishes with small French units, had to retreat to Mecklenburg because it was unable to meet a main force. In the meantime the other revolts had proved abortive and the hopes of all anti-French Germans were dashed by Napoleon's entry into Vienna (May 13). Schill's own undertaking, condemned by the king, met with little enthusiasm among the people. Undisciplined groups of military adventurers and worthless rabble formed the major part of those he was able to attract to his banner to strengthen his band of devoted regulars.

Schill moved with his column to Stralsund which he decided to defend against a much superior French force. The defense was heroic but foolish and Schill himself was killed in the ensuing street battle (May 25). Eleven of his officers, for the most part enthusiastic youths of good family, were captured, condemned by court martial on Napoleon's order and shot at Wesel.

The episode from German history just described involves a particular phase of the universal conflict of emotion versus reason that we may call the "Schill problem." The historical situation and circumstance which led Schill to his hopeless but spectacular revolt in 1809, and which found the nation divided for and against his action, had so convincing a counterpart in the Germany of the nineteen-twenties that one is even tempted to speak of "reincarnation." The realization of this approximate reincarnation makes it clear why the Schill plays are so numerous: the pro and con of Schill's venture was as vital to them as to the people of 1809.

Smarting under humiliation, real or imaginary, goaded by foreign outrages, real or exaggerated, many hot-headed young nationalists of the early post-war years determined, like Schill, to "strike for their country" (*losschlagen*). They either led or joined volunteer corps (*Freikorps*) of various sorts, which had,

as did Schill's, their goodly quota of irresponsible, adventurous rabble, and which were active in the occupied territories and on the Polish border.¹⁹ These Free Corps indeed, although characterized individually by their instability, flourished as a phenomenon to an extent not dreamed of in Schill's day.²⁰ At least one Free Corps leader was caught and executed by the French, as Schill's officers had been a century before.²¹

The passing discussion aroused by the activities of this or that hotspur was the momentary manifestation of the constant, nation-wide debate on the Schill problem in its larger sense; that is, on the best way to free the country from foreign imposition. As in 1809, the majority were perhaps in sympathy with the aims of the extremists but recognized the futility if not folly of their methods. The historically-minded tended, as had their ancestors, to cherish the symbol of Schill and his officers as an inspiration for the time when open defiance would be sanctioned by circumstance. The renewed popularity of the Schill theme since 1933 would seem to imply at least a partial confirmation of this last statement.²²

The author of a Schill play may or may not take a definite attitude towards the problem, but in any case he gives expression to it and tries to clarify it for his audience. He cannot control the reaction of a particular individual, for his audience is sure to include people holding quite varied opinions. For everyone, however, the problem is neither academic, nor even purely historical, but alive and acutely applicable to the present. The dramatist is consequently certain to get definite reactions from all, to awaken their interest, and to hold it without much difficulty.

Friedrich Lienhard: *Schills Offiziere*. 1924.

The broad scope of the Schill problem is borne out by the

¹⁹ The inner-political activities of these Free Corps do not concern us here.

²⁰ The Free Corps are given concise and authoritative treatment in their proper perspective by A. Rosenberg, *op. cit.* For a journalistic treatment, factually reliable, cf. E. A. Mower, *Germany Puts The Clock Back*, chapter, "The Private Armies," (N.Y.: Morrow, 1933).

²¹ Albert Leo Schlageter, executed May 26, 1923. He has become a martyr-hero of the National-Socialists and is the subject of play by Hans Johst, *Schlageter*, first performance, Berlin, Staatliches Schauspielhaus, April 20, 1933. This play is minutely discussed by Peine, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-220.

²² Cf. discussion *infra*, pp. 21, 64-65.

fact that in three of the plays Schill himself is not among the dramatis personae. In one of these, the play under discussion, not even his officers appear, although they constitute the subject matter. This is the one play written specifically for the amateur stage which, as already suggested, rises above the deserved anonymity of the group as a whole and merits separate treatment. The rank of its author would otherwise place it at a still higher level, but it is merely a sketch in one scene obviously written for the school youth.²³

The playlet follows an historical incident which gives us a concrete case of the Schill problem as it forcibly and tragically involved the fate of an individual family. Major Stutzer, a Brunswick judge, has been made to sit in judgment on Schill's officers who are on trial as bandits before international law. Although he was not at all in agreement with their leader's untimely revolt, he cannot force himself to take part in the condemnation of German officers at the wish of the French. He gives the sole vote against their condemnation and pleads that they be set free because of their youth and only partial realization of the import of their acts. On his return home from the trial Stutzer is arrested by French soldiers in the presence of his family. His wife is proud to bear the consequent suffering. His schoolboy son, who in youthful enthusiasm has favored the uprising, now swears that the sacrifice of Schill's officers and of his father shall not be in vain, but remain a flaming inspiration until Germany is set free.

The scene opens with a dialogue between mother and son which clearly presents the conflicting attitudes: the storming hurrah-patriotism of the typical schoolboy versus the sincere but tempered national feeling of the maturer generation. The mother is naturally bitter against the "Schillschen" because of the expected fateful result for her family. Two quotations from her conversation with her son will serve to crystallize this point:

Mutter: Wenn ihr glutvoll und zugleich kühl genug seid, die Zeitumstände zu ermessen! Seid ihr das? Nein, das seid ihr nicht. Ihr

²³ Friedrich Lienhard, 1865-1929, Alsatian lyricist and dramatist best known for his services to *Heimatkunst*. Among his dramas, which show a preference for historical subjects, are: *Gottfried von Strassburg* (1897), *König Arthur* (1900), *Wieland der Schmied* (1905).

schlägt zu früh Lärm—und stürzt die Alten erst recht ins Unglück! Und das Vaterland dazu!²⁴ . . .

Mutter: Dein Vater ist in dieser Stunde ein Beweis dafür!

Theodor: Wieso?

Mutter: Die Schillschen Offiziere! In diesem Wort liegt alles. Die sind ein Beispiel dafür, wie man heiliges Feuer nicht vorzeitig verpuffen soll. . . .²⁴

Bernhard Solms: *Vor der Zeit*. 1923.

This is the first of three closet dramas offering further treatments of the same theme that are interesting also for their literary pretension. All three are written in blank verse—iambic pentameter with variations.

Although all the Schill plays have an essentially tragic content, *Vor der Zeit* is the only one designated by its author as a tragedy.²⁵ It is divided into the customary five acts which might better have been called scenes. In language and situation the piece is not dramatic but recitative. The would-be dramatist exhibits, in fact, an almost complete lack of dramatic intuition. His play does reveal some lyrical talent and significant thought-content, but both are marred by too frequent insertions of obvious propaganda. The spirit of the whole is really somberly elegiac. There is very little action and the main impression is one of passivity.

The course of Schill's rebellion is the changing backdrop against which stands out the fate of another family indirectly determined by it. The daughter, the fiancée of one of Schill's hapless followers, is harassed by an officer of the French occupation force. The son, strangely enough, is this time the conservative member of the family who sees the folly of open defiance, and his father the hot-head who glorifies Schill and his undertaking. The father rather insanely shoots his son upon learning that the latter has made one of Schill's raids abortive by betraying plans to the French. This strange event is treated as little more than an incident (one is tempted to say, blithely) as the play proceeds on its somber course. The son-killer is imprisoned, and doomed when his daughter refuses to give herself to the Frenchman to save him. The play closes with the daughter's fiancé uttering hopeful, idealistic thoughts on reunion

²⁴ P. 18.

²⁵ The author's full name is Bernhard, Count of Solms-Laubach (b. 1900). He has published, in addition to this drama, some lyric verse.

with his beloved in the other world as he and his comrades march serenely to meet their death before a French firing-squad.

The son, Friedrich, may well represent the non-chauvinistic segment of post-war German youth, which, knowing nothing except suffering and uncertainty in personal, social, and national life, has grown up hardened to the world and unusually thoughtful, but not broken in spirit. Its radical break from the attitude of the older generation, reared in times of national splendor, peace, and security, is clear from the following speech of Friedrich to his father :

Wir Jungen leben jetzt und in der Zukunft.
Wir sehn die Welt mit andern Augen an,
Wir denken und empfinden anders, finden
Uns leichter in das Schicksal, weil darin
Wir einen Grund zu neuem Aufbau sehen.
Was Euch ein Ende scheint, ist uns Beginn,
Euch ist das Haus am Abend eingestürzt,
Das Ihr des Tags gebaut, vergrämt darum,
In bitterer Wehmut seht Ihr auf die Trümmer,
Wir aber warten, bis die Nacht vorüber
Und bis der Tag uns ruft zu neuem Schaffen.²⁶

These reflections on the break-up of the settled German society of the eighteenth century in the age of the French Revolution are equally applicable to the break-up of its nineteenth-century society in the revolutionary period which began with the World War. Thereby is established the broad basis for the remarkable analogy between the two historical periods.

Friedrich's attitude cautioning patience and calmness is supported by the local responsible authority, Amtmann Woche:

Da sag' ich Gott sei Dank, denn oft
Scheint mir der Sohn besonnener zu sein,
Und Ruhe und Besonnenheit tut not,
Das rettet Preussen.²⁷

In regard to Schill's uprising, they are both convinced of the reality of the fear implied in the title, *Vor der Zeit*.

The Schill problem here brings us directly into the center of the endless controversy over the word *patriotism*.²⁸ What is a patriot? Who is a better patriot? a true patriot? Given a certain set

²⁶ I. iii., p. 10.

²⁷ II. ii., p. 34.

²⁸ For further treatment of this controversy, cf. Pt. II, *infra*, pp. 100ff

of conditions, what reaction to them is most truly patriotic? We are here given the situation in the Prussia of 1809, dominated, abused, and humiliated by Napoleon. Did the true patriot welcome and support Schill's heroic but irresponsible uprising, like the father in this play? Or would he deem it a patriotic service to try actively to frustrate it, as did the son Friedrich, who, confessing to his father, says:

Ganz Preussen und der König waren doch
Auch gegen Schill!—Es ist nicht schlecht was ehrlich
Und gut gemeint ist!—Nur für Preussen, Vater,
Für dich hab' ich's getan! . . . ²⁹

Or did the true patriot cover inward impulse with outward neutrality?

These differences of opinion prevailed throughout Prussia in all the spheres of her life and affairs, personal and family, local, regional and national. They tormented her people and their rulers from the pre-Jena days to the Battle of Leipzig in 1813. The history of the reign of Frederick William III in these years is in essence largely a reflection of his wavering toward one or another of the various attitudes regarding patriotic action.³⁰ Omitting the element of family tragedy, Friedrich and those others who took the same general stand as he were certainly justified in citing their king in their defense. This applies not only to the Schill incident but to the many similar crises which were constantly occurring. The analogy offered by the vacillations of the post-war German governments is striking.

Uli Klimsch: *Die Schillschen*. 1923.

This fantastic closet play can also make no claim to dramatic value but presents perhaps the most interesting exposé of the situation into which Schill precipitated others.³¹ The action is definitely subordinate to a plethora of argumentation, philosophizing, and lamentation and it has not a few dithyrambic moments.

We are asked to follow the soul-effusions of a man named Friedenburg on his confused and tortuous path of conversion from

²⁹ III. iv., pp. 59-60.

³⁰ Treitschke, *Hist. of Ger. in the 19th Cent.*, I, makes out the best case possible for Fred. Wm. III.

³¹ Uli Klimsch, b. 1895, formerly director of Pontos-Verlag, now lives in Berlin. He has confined himself chiefly to the drama. Cf. *infra*, p. 94.

the convinced, militant pacifist of the first act, to the raving Schill partisan of act five, with a die-but-die-honorably resolve. When the play begins he is preaching patience and forbearance; as it closes he is dashing to revenge the executed officers, followed by citizenry of Wesel whom he has just harangued. To complicate the matter, he torments himself constantly with amorous thoughts about the wives of two friends, officers of Schill. In between, in act two, we are treated to the more sudden conversion of one of these wives, who has violently opposed her husband's joining Schill. The conversion is effected by an unbelievably crude scene of French lust and brutality which one could only term ludicrous, were the feeling of disgust not stronger.

Friedenburg is a serious, enigmatic character, but a distinctly unnatural one. His soul-struggles are interesting as spiritual abstractions, but fail to constitute a person of real flesh and blood. The height of his pacifism is reached in act three, where, in a house in Stralsund, as an eye-witness to the desperate plight of Schill's cause, he proclaims:

Ich nehme kein Gewehr. Und stünd' der Feind
im Hause schon und schlug' uns ins Gesicht,
man seh ihn an, man nehme sich zusammen,
bewies ihm einen Gleichmut unerschütterlich
nur durch die Augen! Ja! Durch Augen nur—
ich schwör's—vermag man Menschen zu entwaffnen.³²

Later Friedenburg is convinced that this abstract reasoning has been choking his vitality while suppressing strong but irrational patriotic emotions; and when he finally gives way to the latter in order to regain his self-respect at the cost of his rationalism, he declares:

... denn ich werde füsiliert
so wie ich jetzt mich in die Reihen stürze
der Menschen, deren Kühnheit erst ich mied
als wäre es Dummheit, was sie trieb. O Dummheit,
geliebte Freunde, fällt für uns!³³

The most appealing scene of the whole play is one where we have nothing to do with Friedenburg at all. It is the short fourth act which with somber simplicity shows us the eleven captive Schill officers in their prison cell as they receive the news of their immi-

³² III, pp. 46-47.

³³ V, p. 85.

ment execution. The tragedy of these direct, voluntary sufferers wins our quick sympathy. The reflections, typically German in their sentimentality, which the dramatist puts into the mouth of one of the condemned officers as the latter's final judgment of *their* Schill problem, are worthy of quoting in part:

... wenn wir einmal ganz ehrlich gegen uns selbst sein wollen, so verhält es sich folgendermassen: indem wir uns zum guten ollen ehrlichen Draufgänger Schill begaben, sagten wir zu uns selbst: Mensch, bleib zu Haus. Denn jetzt geht es um eine Sache, es geht ums Ganze, es geht um Leben oder Tod, um Schande oder Ehre einer ganzen Nation, und wenn wir jetzt nur eine Zeitlang Kameraden sind, können wir nachher wieder Menschen sein und unsre Ruhe haben. Also, Mensch, bleib zu Haus. Und wir zogen den Menschen aus und zogen den Kameraden an. Nun aber liegt die Sache so, dass wir jetzt sterben müssen, das heisst: Kamerad hin, Mensch hin, alles hin. Und warum? Nur wegen der anderen—die da draussen murren und schreien . . . Glückliche der, wo ein Mägdlein haben tut. Der Heine, der da oben hockt, spricht mit seiner Frau, das muss eine Frau sein. Herrgott er weiss nicht, wie glücklich er ist. Er hat einen Menschen, für den er sterben kann! Ich elender Schlucker sterbe nur für eine Totalansicht!³⁴

Bernhard Brauny: *Schill. Ein deutsches Heldengedicht*. 1928.

The first play in which Schill himself appears has the pretentious subtitle, *A German Epic*, and is a perfect example of a pseudo-classical tragedy conceived in, and confined to, the study-cabinet.³⁵ As an almost full imitation of classical high tragedy, it contains five acts in blank verse, many scenes ending in rimed couplets; occasional Greek chorus effects;³⁶ "exalted" language filled with bombast, artificial heroics and lurid melodrama. The people of the besieged city of Kolberg, where the play begins, are portrayed in the Homeric-Trojan manner. The hero, Schill, rants through the scenes in a boastful, absurdly heroic manner; the jealous villain betrays him, and later repents; the heroine dresses as a soldier and dies from a murderer's thrust intended for her lover. The classical unities might well have been retained here to complete the imitation, as the piece is sadly lacking in coherence. The first three acts, for example, could be entitled *Kolberg*, since the interest awakened for the city, its inhabitants, and its citizen hero, Nettelbeck, is almost

³⁴ IV, pp. 66-67.

³⁵ No data concerning the author are available.

³⁶ E.g., the "divers voices" in the function of announcing catastrophe, I. v., pp. 12ff.

stronger than that developed for the titular military hero.³⁷

The grand manner is so obviously artificial, so utterly incongruous with the material, especially for us of today, that only one adjective remains to describe adequately the impression it makes and sustains: ludicrous. For this reason it is difficult to concede much value to the verse itself, which, always too mechanical, is never more than fair. A few choice samples of its pseudo-heroic style must be quoted:

Poppe (Schill's comrade):

Mit Schimpf und Schande würde er verjagt!
Zur See hinab, wo sie am tiefsten ist!
(Man hört von Ferne verworrenen Lärm).
Doch still, was deutet dieser ferne Lärm?
Der brausend sich der Stadt zu nähern scheint?³⁸

Elisabeth (heroine):

Ja, tausend Banden ketten mich an Kolberg,
Und dennoch muss ich fort, mich ruft ja
die Kindespflicht nach Schlesiens Gefilden,³⁹

Poppe:

Schill, komm und blicke in mein brechend Aug',
Ich ford're viel von Dir, ich ford're sterbend
Ein heiliges Gelöbniß noch von Dir!

* * *

Schill:

Was es auch sei, ich will es halten, will's
erfüllen bis zum letzten Pulsesschlag!⁴⁰

There is little enough to commend in the other two closet dramas, but in them the blank verse and the way in which it is han-

³⁷ Heyse's *Kolberg* is immediately recalled, also for similarity of style. Perhaps Brauny could be called an *epigone* of the second (or third) degree. For a recent play with Nettelbeck as hero, cf. App. II, no. 69. Kolberg has also not been neglected by the "theatrical series."

³⁸ I. ii., p. 7.

³⁹ I. iii., p. 8.

⁴⁰ III. viii., p. 51. One could quote similar grotesquely heroic speeches ad nauseam. Two more, from Act III, will make the impression ineradicable:

Lowcadou: Des Todes kalter Flügelschlag umwehet mich! (III. vii., p. 49).

Schill: Dann holt den Buben her, um ihn zu richten,
Ich fühl's, wie meine Adern mächtig schwellen! (III. v., p. 47).

dled is in general quite appropriate and genuine for the content and mood in each case. Only occasionally are there incongruous flights to so-called high tragedy, or passages, the language of which is unsuited to poetry. Klimsch was cognizant of this latter incongruity and avoided it in some cases as, for instance, when he put the impossibly bestial content of the first part of the second act of *Die Schillschen* in prose.

The first three acts of Brauny's play, laid in Kolberg, give us a picture of Schill as a popular, dashing, courageous but all too reckless young officer, breathing patriotic fire and enthusiasm. No ethical conflict arises for the hero until the latter part of act four, when he is informed of the king's absolute condemnation of his venture, and command to abandon it. Then he must decide to break or not to break his oath of allegiance to his king; he must decide for or against violating the basic principle of his profession—obedience.

This is the first instance of that ethical problem which is preëminently associated with Prussian character and Prussian fate, namely, that of duty versus inclination (*Pflicht gegen Neigung*). It will occur, we shall see, with varying degrees of emphasis in practically all the dramas remaining to be discussed, and it will be given special attention in the second part of this study. In this "dramatic epic" it is presented with a great show of violent outward conflict but is not of much real significance, because Schill's decision is reached completely by feeling, and he shows no capacity for reflection.

Schill's associate, Major Lützow,⁴¹ who has already criticised the hasty, planless nature of the campaign, opposes the act of virtual treason very strongly, but is overruled. Many soldiers are loath to go on for this reason also. To Schill's father, his son's act is so monstrous and so incomprehensible that he does not recover from the shock. Schill is made to explain his decision to carry on with the revolt as irrevocable because of the sentimental sanctity of the oath he took before his dying comrade, Poppe, in Kolberg.

This piece, it will be noted, is chiefly interesting for the excellent examples it supplies of what does not constitute good dramatic literature. In addition the author does violence to history in an ex-

⁴¹ The same who became famous as the leader of his own Free Corps during the Wars of Liberation and is immortalized in Th. Körner's well-known patriotic poem, *Lützows wilde Jagd*.

ceptionally crude manner. At first sight the time given for the action of the play on the fly-leaf, 1806-08, appears to be a misprint. The reader discovers, however, that the peace of Tilsit (1807) has been delayed a year to become concurrent with the battle of Aspern (1809) and Schill's defeat at Stralsund (1809), which are advanced to the year 1808. One is inclined to assign the cause of this confusion to ignorance rather than abuse of history—which is quite an unpardonable fault in a patriotic poetaster.⁴² The one thing the author does well is to reveal the very generous portion of egoism in the hero's makeup.

The play presents an interesting shift from the emphasis in those previously discussed on the advisability of supporting Schill, as it involved the fate of others, to an apparent emphasis on the strictly defined subject of soldierly obedience. As has already been explained, this latter emphasis is illusory. The actually important new factor that this work adds to the understanding of the problem as so far developed is its direct and full portrait of Schill himself: the revelation of his personality, which defines the "Schill attitude," an attitude of brave and sincere patriotism which, in its expression, is impetuous, largely irresponsible, and often blinded by emotion.

Joseph Buchhorn: *Schill*. First performed at the Stadttheater in Elbing, December 9, 1924.

This is one of the two Schill plays written by dramatists with enough ability and instinct for the theatre to have gained for them regular stage performance, at least on provincial stages. It is an excellent example of *aktivistisches Drama*, or propaganda play in the good sense of the term, as it has been explained above. The propaganda in the present instance is of course patriotic, and this type of play is, incidentally, Buchhorn's main forte.⁴³ His purpose was to reawaken patriotic fervor in Germany in the dark days of the early

⁴² In view of the farcical nature of the author's literary pretensions, it is amazing, but no less a fact, that the play was republished: 2d ed. (Berlin: Heyer, 1932).

⁴³ Josef Buchhorn, b. Cologne, 1875, is the author of another patriotic play on the same period, *Der Schüfer von Jena* (1920). Cf. App. II, no. 3. Student songs and stories and patriotic verse figure largely in his work. The following titles are typical of the latter: *Schwarz-weiss-rot*, *Dennoch*, *Ich bin ein Preusse*. A play about Schill was not enough and Buchhorn produced a prose complement to it in 1931: *Ferdinand von Schill. Roman des deutschen Aufbruchs*.

twenties by the shining example and inspiration of Schill. This re-awakening had been accomplished by many forces when the play enjoyed a revival at the beginning of the present period of resurgent nationalism, but the figure of Schill and the spirit he represented were just as popular as objects to excite the patriotic imagination.⁴⁴ The drama, indeed, was not published in book form until 1935. Buchhorn's short introduction avowing his patriotic purpose provides as well a convenient confirmation of the contentions made in the introductory paragraphs to these Schill plays. To quote in part:

Als ich den 'Schill' zu gestalten versuche, war besonders böse Zeit über das Reich hereingebrochen; . . . war welsche Herrschbegier und Unersättlichkeit über den Rhein bis zur Ruhr und nach Dortmund vorgebrochen . . .

. . . So ward passiver Widerstand amtliche Kampfpapole gegen feindliche Bedrängnis . . . Mit zusammengebißnen Zähnen widerstanden wir, Herz schwer im Zorn und Hass. Nur: entschlossene Herzen setzten über dies die beherzte Tat. Wie Albert Leo Schlageter, der ewige Blutzeuge aus jener Zeit, der solche beherzte Tat am 26. Mai 1923, auf der Golzheimer Heide bei Düsseldorf im Feuer feigen Bleies büßen musste, aber *dadurch wie im Jahre 1809 die Elf von Wesel*,⁴⁵ zu deutschem Märtyrer geweiht wurde.

Nichts erbärmlicher, als deutscher Geschichte Zwang anzutun und sie zur Magd der Stunde zu erniedrigen; aber nichts sinnvoller, als deutsche Geschichte als Beispiel und Vorbild zu nehmen und zu nutzen.⁴⁶

Lebendig aber wollen wir sein und bleiben allezeit. Lebendig im Geist, der uns vorgelebt und vorgestorben ist: lebendig auch in einem—Schill!⁴⁷

The play is called a "Schauspiel" but from the point of view of the human interest involved it is a tragedy. It is in prose and the heroics of Schill, his sentiments and emotions, are much more natural, more convincing, in this ordinary language than in the artificial iambs of Brauny's "epic." The most obvious stylistic fault is the attempt at effect through the constant use of the unfinished sentence. This device is poorly executed and greatly overdone, especi-

⁴⁴ The wider implications of the later Schill popularity are treated below, pp. 64-65.

⁴⁵ Italics are mine. The reference is of course to the eleven officers shot at Wesel.

⁴⁶ This is a nice explanation of *aktivistisches Drama* with historical content as supplied us by the dramatist, who does not want his work classed with that of writers taking advantage of the "bull-market" for patriotic plays which existed 1933-35 (*Konjunkturschreiberei*). Cf. *Elsner*, V, 26.

⁴⁷ This is a clear example of a German insisting to himself and to other Germans on the immortality of their national spirit which was spoken of in the Introduction.

ally in the first act where even the reader (and he has time to mull over the thought as the spectator has not) is constantly puzzled and loses interest.

The four acts are chronologically jerky scenes from the Schill episode. There is practically no plot and very little action throughout. The audience simply sees the emotional reactions to events that have taken place, and situations that have developed, off stage. The temperamental, energetic hero remains actually almost passive. A *scène à faire* is definitely missing: the fairly effective outpourings of Schill should have been supported by more action on the stage. Some rhythm is cleverly imparted to the play by the repetition here and there of *reiten, reiten* as a symbol for the spirit of the dashing cavalry hero.⁴⁸

Buchhorn's Schill is quite well drawn, a living, very human figure. He exhibits some reasoning power in defending his venture as not premature and rationalizes himself out of any self-reproach in connection with his military disobedience. Nevertheless, strongly romantic emotionalism still determines all his actions. In the first part of the play he reaches his decision in a mood of heavy, almost lachrymose sentimentality which develops after he hears that Queen Louise, whom he worships, has been weeping in sorrow for the state of her people.⁴⁹ There is a decided improvement, however, in the scene before the impending catastrophe, when Schill and his officers defending the ramparts at Stralsund stand deserted by the rest of Germany. Here his passionate sentiments are more sober, more dignified, almost philosophical. He is convinced that his action was the necessary response to emotional imperatives arising from immortal patriotic concepts. To describe these imperatives he uses the phrase "unser Gesetz."⁵⁰

Although the conflict in the drama is supplied in a general way by the arguments of timeliness and loyalty to the military oath, the real opposition to Schill is from the imponderables: Napoleon's power, the miscarriage of the Austrian campaign of Archduke Charles and of the concurrent revolt of Dörnberg, the weakness of Frederick William III, the inertia of the masses. One feels these imponderables, but not strongly enough. A better playwright would

⁴⁸ Cf. II., pp. 58 *et passim*.

⁴⁹ II. i., pp. 38 *et passim*. Cf. also *infra*, p. 80f.

⁵⁰ IV. i., p. 96.

have used them more impressively. Their most effective projection into the play is in act three, in which Schill's awareness of them is clearest from the following words:

. . . ich brauch' einen starken Herzschlag aus der Tiefe meines Volkes, der sich mit meinem Herzschlag trifft. Denn—ich bin nicht auf ein Abenteuer, ich bin auf einen Kreuzzug ausgeritten, der —Heiligstes retten. . . .⁵¹

Very interesting is Buchhorn's insertion into the dialogue of quotations from the *Rütli* scene in *Wilhelm Tell* to confront Schill with his own problem of patriotic behavior. Stauffacher's stirring words that expand the famous line, "Nein, eine Grenze hat Tyrannenmacht," are much to Schill's liking; but he objects very vehemently to the warning against single-handed action of an impulsive, egotistical nature that is contained in Stauffacher's concluding speech.⁵² The appropriateness of these sentiments from *Tell* is further confirmation of the fundamental importance of the Schill problem for peoples of nationalistic inclination.

Peter Martin Lampel: *Putsch: Oder die Männer um Schill*. First performed at the Stadttheater in Koblenz, March 7, 1930.

The main title is the key to the nature of this play and its importance for our discussion. The word *Putsch*, signifying an unsuccessful uprising, was popularized during the years of the German Republic when there was an epidemic of uprisings and intrigues of all sorts, and to the average German it recalled a contemporary subject and had little or no historical connotation. Similarly, the emphasis in the play is mostly on the present and Lampel provides us with the most extreme example in our group of *Gesinnungs-*

⁵¹ III., p. 79.

⁵² Cf. I., pp. 32-33, but especially II. i., p. 42. The lines from Stauffacher's last speech which Schill repeats and to which he takes exception are:

. . . Was noch bis dahin muss erduldet werden,
Erduldet's! . . .

Bezähme jeder die gerechte Wut
Und spare für das Ganze seine Rache;
Denn Raub begeht am allgemeinen Gut,
Wer selbst sich hilft in seiner eignen Sache.

(*Tell*, II. ii., 11.1459-60, 1463-66).

theater in historical dress. The play has not been published but it provoked so much discussion by all sorts of critics at the time of its performance that a partial treatment on the basis of the plentiful critical material seems both justified and desirable.⁵³

The consensus of opinion is that Lampel has used an obvious historical parallel in a very unhistorical way to disguise the opinionated exposition of a particular, illegal post-war uprising, namely, the revolt of some detachments of the Black Reichswehr at the fortress of Küstrin, near Berlin, in 1923, which clamored for more positive action against French encroachment in the Ruhr.⁵⁴ Lampel himself was a party to the revolt and taken prisoner by regular troops of the Reichswehr. The episode of 1809 is a crudely transparent cloak for a discussion of that of 1923 in which he embodies his own experiences.⁵⁵ No one grants the piece any artistic value. Probably not much was intended, since the dramatist's purpose was to use the stage as a political tribune—to agitate party opinions. From the point of view of historical drama it is a caricature.

Such a play, because of its provocative nature, can gain momentary attention, but it is of course doomed to the quick oblivion of election propaganda as soon as the political firebrand from which it got its heat has become cold. When *Putsch* was finally produced in 1930 general public interest in the fate of the Black Reichswehr had disappeared and, curiously enough, the extreme rightist political sentiments it expressed were no longer held by its author, whose career shows violent oscillations towards all political extremes.⁵⁶ Its appearance on the stage was undoubtedly facilitated by the passing sensation Lampel was then producing by his other plays on subjects that were more actively controversial at the moment.⁵⁷

Buchhorn's introduction to *Schill* shows that he undoubtedly

⁵³ The following material has been used as a basis for this discussion: Sternberg, L.: "Putsch," *Die Literatur*, XXXII, (1929/30), p. 477; Baldus, A.: "Putsch," *Die schöne Literatur*, XXXI, (1930), p. 263; Reviews reprinted in *Elsner*, II, p. 278-9; Fallada, H.: "Lampel, der Jäger," *Die Literatur*, XXXIV, (1931/32), pp. 187ff; Dietz, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

⁵⁴ Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206; Mowrer, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁵⁵ *Putsch* was written in 1927 or earlier. Two years later, 1929, Lampel did write a prose version of the Küstrin affair (in novel form) without the historical disguise and called it *Verratene Jungen*.

⁵⁶ Cf. Fallada, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁷ E.g., *Revolte im Erziehungshaus* (1928), *Giftgas über Berlin* (1929), *Verschwörer* (1929).

hoped his depiction of the martyrdom of Schill and his men would arouse his audience to a keener appreciation of the martyrdom of the man he considered a modern Schill—Schlageter; a martyrdom produced by strong parallels of spirit and circumstance. But he does attempt to write a genuine historical play with the spirit and figure of the real Schill. It is a curious paradox that Lampel, on the other hand, was moved by temperamental affinity with Schill and his officers to emulate their actions in real life, but mistreated them on the stage.

Despite Lampel's caricature of history in the interests of a *Putsch* which had become a dead issue by 1930, the assumption is probably justified that the strength of the parallels between the two historical periods, upon which Buchhorn and the others also relied, gained some measure of effectiveness for the play. That much of the content was still pertinent is clear from the following excerpt from the review by a well-known critic:

Man mag denn auch für die Niederlage von Jena den Weltkrieg, für den Frieden von Tilsit das Diktat von Versailles und für den innerstaatlichen Mechanismus unter dem Preussen von 1809 den unserer Nachkriegszeit setzen. Es sind bekannte Töne, wenn Schill vor den schlesischen Leinwebern, Maurern von Liegnitz und Druckern von Leipzig, die Parole ausgibt: 'Wir wollen keine Reparationen mehr zahlen, den Schandfrieden zertrampeln, den aufgezwungenen Pakt zerfetzen und uns mit eigener Faust ein freies Deutschland bauen, ein Deutschland der Gerechtigkeit, ohne Fatzken und Parteieklüngel!'⁵⁸

The above survey offers the first in a series of pictures of military heroes of the past as they live through the medium of the drama in the imagination of their countrymen in a generation subject to forces and circumstances unusually like their own.

The dramatic medium, very mediocre in the present instance, is important for its manifestations of the politico-cultural phenomenon with which we are concerned. The settings for the exposition of the Schill episode are notable for their diversity in almost every respect. There are examples of one, three, four, and five act plays written for amateur performance, for the study, and for the regular stage. Three dramatists wrote in ordinary prose; three others were inspired to clothe their version of the Schill theme in the pretentious blank verse of heroic drama, which, we have seen,

⁵⁸ Leo Sternberg, *loc. cit.*

ranged from the extravagant to the restrained, from the fantastic to the sensible, and which was usually lyric or epic in style and only seldom dramatic.

The genesis of each play was similar, namely the desire, implied or avowed, on the part of the author to attract the attention of his compatriots to the implications of Schill's career for their own time by elucidation in dramatic form. None were overly concerned about the strict reproduction of the facts of history; however, all but one attempted, with indifferent success, to be sure, to respect its spirit. Only two writers tried to portray the personal fate of the hero. One other presented the hero and his comrades in name, but their modern prototypes in fact. The rest preferred to indicate how Schill's actions vitally affected the fate and interests of his contemporaries. This involved the controversy about the concept of patriotism, which occurred in some form in all the plays. In the plays with Schill as the personal hero there was some attempt to emphasize the important problem of duty versus inclination, but its effectiveness was sharply reduced by the temperamental limitations of the hero. The descriptions of his patriotic emotionalism remained the most interesting material element.

Five of the plays (those by Buchhorn, Lienhard, Lampel, Klimsch, and Solms) appeared during, or owed their origin to, the crisis provoked by the French occupation of the Ruhr (1923-25). This seems to indicate clearly that in this period of intense national feeling the poignant significance of the fate of Schill in its wider aspects was most forcefully impressed upon the consciousness of the unhappy generation. If any further proof were needed of the awareness of post-war Germans of the actuality of the Schill problem for their own time, it could not be more conclusively demonstrated than it has been by Lampel alone. Not only did this dramatist follow in real life the example of Schill's officers, but he wrote a play in which, although he was primarily concerned with his experience as a modern *Schillianer*,⁵⁹ he confirmed his realization of the spiritual and circumstantial features common to 1809 and 1923.

⁵⁹ German term for a follower of Schill.

THE YORCK PLAYS

Historical Sketch

General Yorck, born in Potsdam in 1759, was one of Prussia's outstanding soldiers in the wars against Napoleon. A man of iron will who embodied Kantian morality in military dress, morose and reserved in manner, his character was marked by depth rather than breadth. His whole heart was in his profession and he excelled as a trainer of troops. In battle he was an intelligent leader with tenacity and courage that inspired his devoted men to surpass themselves.

In 1812 Frederick William III assigned to this obedient and reliable general the distasteful task of commanding the auxiliary corps Prussia was forced to furnish Napoleon for his campaign against Russia. Yorck accepted but strove to keep his regiments as independent as possible of his French superior, Marshal Macdonald. Several prominent Prussian officers, among them the later famous military historian, Karl von Clausewitz, were so incensed at their country's alliance with her archenemy that they transferred their allegiance to Russia and opposed their countrymen under Yorck on the Baltic front.

When Napoleon's disastrous retreat from Moscow had reversed the whole European military and political situation, the Russian commanders, Paulucci and Diebitsch, with the ex-Prussian officers as intermediaries, tried to persuade Yorck to desert Macdonald and join them. Yorck hated the thought of exceeding his military authority but sought in vain to get a definite command from his irresponsible ruler. Finally, on December 30, 1812, he formally detached himself from the French force by signing with the Russians a neutrality agreement known as the Convention of Tauroggen.

Yorck's opportune but unauthorized desertion of Prussia's legal ally, technically an act of high treason, did not have any immediately decisive military or political consequences, for the Prussian government was still too weak to generalize this isolated act of defiance against Napoleon. It was immensely significant, however, because of the impetus it gave to the swelling tide of patriotic feeling that culminated in the Wars of Liberation. In the campaigns of 1813-14 the hero of Tauroggen repeatedly distinguished himself as the strongest divisional commander in the Silesian army directed by Blücher and Gneisenau.

Fate was probably never more ironical than when it forced this man to commit high treason who, to his contemporaries and perhaps to himself, incorporated the ideal of Prussian military puritanism: the stern, thorough, exacting, but benevolently despotic troop commander who endowed blind obedience to his sovereign, the personal embodiment of the Prussian state, with a sanctity at least the equal of any biblical commandment, and who ruthlessly rejected all considerations of self in his striving to fulfil this commandment with mechanistic perfection. One can readily imagine that the depth and warmth of human interest inherent in this peculiar paradox of personal behavior would be very attractive to poetical interpretation, which, again because of historical parallels, physical or symbolical, deliberate or accidental, would hold especial significance for the post-war period and invite response accordingly.

Comparing the fates of the two "treasonous" heroes now introduced, Schill may be characterized as an irresponsible subordinate assuming illegal responsibility for his king (the state) at the wrong time, and Yorck as the responsible subordinate assuming a like illegal responsibility at the right time. The bold hotspur Schill is the natural idol of impulsive, romantic youth; the sober, marvelously self-disciplined Yorck is more apt to stir the slower but deeper and more lasting emotions of maturer patriots as well. However, these two polar types of Prussian soldier, so opposite in everything but bravery, felt the same need for violating the cardinal tenet of the Prussian system, obedience to their king, in order to sacrifice themselves to a higher necessity of their country as determined by their personal feelings.⁶⁰ This fact shows the elemental force of patriotism to be stronger than any system and capable of moving to wise or unwise action men of all temperaments when the pressure of circumstance is great enough. In view of this fundamental agreement in purpose and action of the two otherwise dissimilar men, one may acknowledge an element of virtue in the ill-timed rebellion of Schill surviving all the grave faults. It can be considered that this virtue found its confirmation and fulfilment in the successful treason of Yorck, which was accomplished at a time when the imponderables were favorable and the inspirational example of the heroism of Schill and his officers could and did bear full fruit.

⁶⁰ In Paul Ernst's play, IV., p. 41, Yorck tells his officers he is acting "wie Schill gehandelt hat."

The Yorck plays constitute a closer unit than the Schill group. Yorck is the central figure in each, in person as well as in spirit; the signing of the Tauroggen Convention is the central event; Yorck's decision to sign, the focal point of interest; and the destruction of Napoleon's Grand Army in the retreat from Moscow is the decisive outside factor in the development of the plot.

The much more significant personality of Yorck affords better material for concentration on the dramatic delineation of character for its own sake. The emphasis in the Yorck plays is therefore naturally on the deeper problems of character inherent in the situation. We can expect, of course, consistent stress on the conflict of duty versus inclination, and serious attention also to the related questions of responsibility and judgment. The patriotic content however remains inseparably bound up with these personal issues and continues to furnish not only the background but the chief substance of each play.

This preëminent element is treated on the whole with more dignity than in the majority of Schill plays—a dignity very welcome to the objective, non-German spectator or reader. Some of the increased respect for the patriotic motives involved results naturally from the greater respect commanded by the more dignified motivations of Yorck's conduct. In consideration of the several points just mentioned it is not surprising to find that the figure of Yorck has proved the incentive for creative effort on a higher plane, namely by the abler and maturer literary artists, Paul Ernst and Ernst Lissauer.

Franz Kaibel: *Hochverrat*. First performed at the Landestheater in Altenburg, March 2, 1923.

The first play dealing with Yorck is one of the most interesting dramatic documents supporting the general thesis. It is as deliberate in its patriotic motivation as Buchhorn's *Schill* and in spots has an historical dress as thin as Lampel's *Putsch*. Kaibel apparently wrote it in the dark months following the armistice and the outlook for the nation's future was just as dark when it was produced on the stage in 1923.⁶¹

⁶¹ Cf. author's introductory note to play. Franz Kaibel, b. Lpzg., 1880, once secretary, German Authors' Protective League, Thuringian Section, has written various dramas, novels and short stories, but drama is his main interest. Among his dramas are: *Die Sands und die Kotzebues* (1914), *Geschlechtsmoral* (1922). He has also translated works by Lope de Vega, Molière, Beaumont-Fletcher. He lives in Weimar.

The year of composition is a key to the drama's peculiar form, which is a mixture of varying degrees of expressionism. It is indeed the only play of the whole group in which expressionistic technique is the outstanding feature. The long introductory dialogue in blank verse between two figures typifying the Poet (*der Dichter*) and the Common Man (*der Mann der Menge*) is an example of full expressionism. It is followed by three acts of historical content in conventional prose. In the third act there is a short reversion to expressionism in its very characteristic *Ichentäußerung* (detached ego) phase: namely where Yorck speaks with a mask, Dr. Kroy, who represents his own conscience.⁶² All stage directions are dispensed with save for the statement announcing the scene of act one as a room in a simple East Prussian farmhouse. The supposition is that the scene remains the same throughout. The author does make the unusual stipulation, too, that the piece be played through without pause.⁶³

By his choice of the scene of action and of persons to play opposite Yorck, Kaibel shows a generous disregard for recorded fact. For example: the events of the first two acts really took place in Courland, not in East Prussia; Baron von Stein did not meet Yorck immediately before or after the Tauroggen Convention, as is represented in the play; likewise, the personal meetings of Yorck with Marshal Macdonald and with Prince Hatzfeld are inventions.⁶⁴ All this is merely the fulfilment of the author's intent, as stated in the expressionistic prologue, to treat history with heavy symbolism.⁶⁵

The above-mentioned imaginary dialogues revealing Yorck in his opposition to Stein, Hatzfeld, and Macdonald are really true to the spirit of history. The conservative monarchist and strict man of duty, Yorck, did actually hate Stein and his liberal group and expressed his feelings during the latter's reform activ-

⁶² III. iii., pp. 115-123. The expressive term *Ichentäußerung* occurs in Gross's "Typen des geschichtlichen Dramas," *ZfDtk.*, XLII, (1928), p. 263.

⁶³ On title page.

⁶⁴ J. G. Droysen, *Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen York von Wartenburg*, 2d ed. (Berlin: Veit u. Comp., 1851), has been relied on for all facts cited here or later in regard to the historical episodes.

⁶⁵ E.g., p. 15 . . . was liegt mir an den richtigen Zahlen,
Ob der so hiess, und der den andern traf,
Ob an dem Ort—der Sinn des Spiels ist der:
Was war, kommt wieder! Rettung folgt auf Not!

ity, 1807-08.⁶⁶ And in the months following his Tauroggen decision he was partially converted to the great statesman's ideas and worked with him in East Prussia.

The dramatist has thus tried the interesting experiment of drawing years of history together into one or two long conversations wherein the underlying ideological significance of the historical forces of these years is exposed clearly and at length. It is an effective means of emphasizing the idea and its essential vitality independent of the accident of historical circumstance. Unfortunately Kaibel does not prove equal to the task of making his "history concentrate" as appealing dramatically as it is intellectually. The strong conflict of opinion in the Stein-Yorck dialogue in act one is weakened dramatically because it is too long (seventeen pages) and overloaded with significant thoughts and information. Still poorer is their long conversation in the third act, wherein Yorck explains his conversion to the recognition of a duty that is superior to mechanical obedience to the king: the duty to respond to the necessity of the time. It is an interesting intellectual effort but lacks every dramatic quality and can only result in deadening the interest of the audience. Somewhat more successful is Hatzfeld's visit to Yorck's headquarters before the latter has made his historic decision.⁶⁷ It supplies the opportunity for a sharply antagonistic dialogue fully revealing the antithetical positions of Yorck on the one hand and of the dilatory king and his timorous court party on the other.

Kaibel's figure of Yorck is impressive, quite well developed, has some individuality, but is not always logical. Since the author is more interested in ideas than in persons, it is natural to find that Yorck's chief opponents, Stein and Hatzfeld, possess the vitality imparted by their convictions but little individuality. Even in the case of the hero, the interest in his personality is rivaled here and there, especially in act three, by the interest aroused in the concept of duty. Macdonald, Rapp, Hühnerbein, Terrier, Brandenburg, and others are merely names given to a few quasi-historical characteristics.

The poetically ambitious introductory dialogue, which cor-

⁶⁶ Droysen, *op. cit.*, I, 202-219.

⁶⁷ II. ix., pp. 88-97.

responds in purpose to the already quoted foreword to Buchhorn's *Schill*, could well be called a *Prologue in the Present*. After discussing the national disintegration and despair of 1919 with the Common Man, the Poet reveals his awareness of his noble duty: to help his people overcome their despair, to inspire them with belief in themselves and in the future. He proceeds to fulfil this duty by reviving the story of Yorck's heroic deed to show the people how their forefathers overcame the similar conditions of oppression and chaos of the Napoleonic era. The play is thus another example of a self-confessed intention of using the heroic past to bring courage to the present generation.

The play has a double motive, however, for the author is just as deliberate in his effort to project history into the present, indeed to fuse the two by creating some new sort of historical symbolism. We are informed of this intent by the striking sentence on the title page: "Spielt alle hundert Jahre." But Kaibel exhibits little ability to create genuine and consistent symbolism. The nearest approach to it is the final scene between Yorck and the representatives of the East Prussian Estates, in which a solemn recital of Germany's physical and spiritual plight ends in a resolution by all to have faith in her resurrection. The utmost sacrifice is demanded of and accepted by the people in supporting a strong, courageous leader who risks everything. Here the spirit of the whole German uprising of 1813 is effectively symbolized and at the same time projected into the situation of 1919 as an answer to a psychological longing.

In many other instances, however, the dramatist's over-serious concern for the present leads him to project it into the past, which in consequence is unfairly distorted and degraded, as in Lampel's *Putsch*, to serve as a cheap mask for the former. Two pertinent examples follow.

A burning question of 1919 is injected into a discussion supposedly taking place in 1812 between Yorck and Macdonald's aide, Rapp:

Yorck: Ich bin Preusse.

Rapp: Und ich Franzose.

Yorck: Ich hätte gedacht Elsässer.

Rapp: Das ist dasselbe.

Yorck: Ich meinte, Elsass wäre deutsches Land.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ I. iii., p. 21.

The sense of the following words put in the mouth of Stein belongs so exclusively to the present that they form a travesty on Kaibel's own attempt at historical symbolism:

... Wir verdienten jene Niederlage und dann ein ehrliches Absprechen von Volk zu Volk. Dass man aber den Zusammenbruch unsrer Kabinettpolitik benützte, das unschuldige Volk zu barbarisieren, das beweist nur, dass wir noch nicht zum Völkerfrieden kommen, sondern dass die Reihe nochmal rundum gehn muss! . . .⁶⁹

In a great many other instances, fortunately, the parallelism of situation and thought are so obvious and natural that the spirit of either period of German history does not seem to have been violated. The poignancy of many of these parallels cannot be gainsaid. One oft repeated example may be quoted:

Hühnerbein: . . . denken Sie an unser Elend, unsre Armut, an die Unmöglichkeit, je wieder hoch zu kommen, wenn wir den abscheulichen Sklavenpakt halten, den uns die Not erpresste . . .⁷⁰

Hans Kyser: *Schicksal um Yorck*. First performed at the Altes Theater in Leipzig, April 11, 1933.

Written about ten years later than the expressionistic-symbolistic *Hochverrat*, Kyser's treatment of the Yorck theme in a straightforward, factual manner stands in full relief thereto as a typical though not particularly impressive example of that reversion to safe and sane objectivity designated by the Germans as *die neue Sachlichkeit*.⁷¹ This playwright, who possesses a real knowledge of stage technique, shifts his stage groups rapidly, inserts plentiful portions of vivid conflict and action, and writes up the whole in conventional prose dialogue that is easy to follow and for the most part facile, although spoiled here and there by stereotyped speeches.⁷²

⁶⁹ I. ix., p. 53.

⁷⁰ II. vii., p. 80.

⁷¹ Hans Kyser, b. Graudenz, 1882, was a war correspondent, later director of S. Fischer Verlag; he has written novels, short stories, verse, but is principally a dramatist. Among his better known dramas are: *Charlotte Stieglitz* (1915); *Columbus* (1929); *Rembrandt vor Gericht* (1934). Lately Kyser has been very active in the field of the cinema and the radio theatre.

⁷² E.g., I. v., p. 15.

Aside from a rather disturbing chronological oversight,⁷³ Kyser has evidently striven to follow quite closely the main historical facts without producing an outspoken "document drama" (*Dokumentenstück*). The result is a fairly effective but relatively superficial stage piece which has more right to be classed as capably dramatized history than as independent drama. As such the epic element remains strong, especially in the second act, where the audience's interest is attracted as much by a non-dramatic episode concerning the impulsive actions of Yorck's orderly, Stöhr, as by the progress of the central conflict.⁷⁴ Kyser reveals little ability at re-creating characters, most of which are scarcely more than fairly accurate bundles of historical characteristics recognized by a name. Yorck is the only exception. Despite some trite, rhetorical speeches, he is human and natural, and the dramatist has succeeded in giving a fairly convincing portrayal of the historical personage.

The content and tone of the play is solid, frequently vigorous, occasionally inspiring, in its patriotism. It is clear that Kyser intended to contribute his share to the national reawakening. He does not omit to give pointed stress to some analogies pertinent to the present, as for instance, to the anti-French feeling and to the nation's humiliation at the hands of France and her allies. But the factual parallelism permits him to do this without violating the historical spirit, which, it must be affirmed, is fairly well preserved. The Yorck-Tauroggen episode and its attendant circumstances are definitely felt as presented for their own sake and, of course, as an example, but not at all as a disguise, for the present. There is a well-defined minor plot concerning the misunderstandings of a Prussian official, Schulz, and his son over "true" patriotism as reflected by Yorck's behavior. In this minor plot the predicament of East Prussia is effectively blended with Yorck's personal predicament in accordance with the title of the play. The natural emphasis in these Yorck plays on the conditions in East Prussia in 1812 undoubtedly constituted a factor in their appeal to the post-war generation which

⁷³ According to the chronology of act two Napoleon's defeat in Russia would have had to come the end of August, 1812, whereas it really was the end of October. A dramatist who wants to deal freely with history should not create confusion by dating the acts definitely.

⁷⁴ Cf. especially II. x., p. 36.

was greatly concerned over the suffering in the eastern province that was separated from the rest of Germany by the Polish Corridor.⁷⁵

Paul Ernst: *Yorck*. Written in 1917. First performed at Aachen, Danzig, Kiel, and Münster, October 10, 1933.

We finally come to a crystallization of the patriotic attitude on a much higher artistic plane than those so far discussed. A modern German master of form, who is at the same time a devout believer, a deep and sincere searcher, into the roots of German character, devotes himself to the portrayal of the hero of Tauroggen as the epitome of the Prussian principle—and therefore of Prussian, or German, greatness as he sees it.⁷⁶

The form is the most notable feature of this drama and quite characteristic of Ernst's work in general. The main desire of the poet is to expose completely the subjective fibre of the characters and thus to touch corresponding moral fibres in the audience.⁷⁷ Form and content must (for him) be strictly interwoven, as nearly as possible, be one.⁷⁸ Thus utter simplicity of construction is striven for and largely achieved. The outline of the situation, finely and clearly drawn, is an adequate background for the moral concepts at stake and has been accomplished with admirable economy of effort. An irreducible minimum of action is presented, while all non-essential externals are dispensed with. The whole five acts in well-mastered iambic pentameter encompass but forty-five pages.

After a slow start the figure of Yorck, developed with great care, becomes human, strong, individual. All the other characters

⁷⁵ Germany's agitation concerning East Prussia is well-known. It was the first eastern province to receive special financial grants from the government generally known as the *Osthilfe*. Cf. latest ed. of *Brockhaus* under this caption.

⁷⁶ Paul Ernst, d. 1933, is similarly preoccupied with an interpretation of Prussian greatness in *Preussengeist* (1914), a drama on the Frederick the Great-Katte theme, written in the same style and form.

⁷⁷ Ernst's emphasis on the moral significance of life is clear from this sentence: "Sittlich kann nur der Mensch sein und deshalb liegt alle menschliche Grösse in der Sittlichkeit." *Weg zur Form*, 1st ed. (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1906), p. 28.

⁷⁸ The nature of form is predetermined, says Ernst, because "die Notwendigkeit ist die gemeinsame Wurzel des Sittlichen und Aesthetischen, vielleicht auch des Religiösen . . ." *Idem*, p. 10.

are definitely subordinated to this central figure; their appearances and functions are sharply limited. In keeping with the nature of this type of drama (*Seelendrama*) they are drawn to function more as types than as individuals, but Ernst's real poetic talent is evident from the fact that he has succeeded in imparting a breath of genuine vitality to most of them. Macdonald's aide, Terrier, and Count Dohna, one of the German officers in Russian service, unfortunately, are disturbingly wooden, despite their insignificant rôles; and the figure of Rittmeister Mannstein, who, it seems, has become almost traditional as the representative of maniacal devotion to military obedience, remains rather artificial.⁷⁹

Paul Ernst's solution to Yorck's moral dilemma of reconciling a disobedient step with the inviolable Prussian principle of obedience is ingeniously simple, although we may remain unconvinced as to the extent of its spiritual validity. For it must be admitted that to achieve his poetic solution Ernst found it necessary to clothe Yorck in a mantle of high-priesthood. Quite in contrast to the other dramatic expositions of Yorck's behavior, Ernst's hero refuses to blame the indecision of the king or to question his faith in the latter's legitimacy by divine right to be the supreme leader of the nation. He believes, rather, that God on this occasion has chosen, for some reason unclear to purblind mortals, to make it impossible for the king to give express command to his servant, Yorck. Upon him, Yorck, devolves then the sacred duty of assuming, without usurping, the royal astrological office. So, inspired by his supreme confidence in the great mission of Prussia he makes the mental decision to desert his French ally, Macdonald, but does not proceed to its execution until he has made it possible for his king to withdraw from any blame connected with the matter. He arranges to offer himself up as

⁷⁹ As it does in Kyser's play, too (*Schicksal um Yorck*, IV. ii., p. 57), where Mannstein utters words almost identical with the following from Ernst's play:

Befiehlt der König, dass ich niedersäble
Mit eigner Hand mein Weib und sieben Kinder,
Ich tu's, und will nicht zucken mit der Wimper.
Doch desertieren kann ich nicht." (III. i., p. 26).

These words evidently approximate an historical utterance by Mannstein; cf. Droysen, *op. cit.*, I, 463.

the sole and willing sacrifice should he have misread the stars. In this way he has kept the keystone of the Prussian system intact and has remained, while assuming full moral responsibility for his act, a true servant of his master, Frederick William III.

Restrained and dignified throughout, this work is an example of patriotic drama in its purest, most deeply ethical phase, devoid of any of the ulterior propagandistic motives so characteristic of the majority of plays at the lower levels. There is no attempt to play on the primitive chords of hate, revenge, or cheap self-glorification. Instead there is the general appeal to a Prussian or Prussianized audience to take pride in a well loved soldier-hero whose actions exemplify moral virtues thought of as peculiarly national. In this play patriotism is given a decidedly religious tinge; Prussia has a holy "world mission" to fulfil, as the opening lines of Yorck's climactic monologue in the fourth act disclose:

Was soll ich tun? Wir sind das Salz der Erde.
 Mich treibt nicht Hochmut, Gott, mich treibt nicht Stolz;
 Ich weiss ja, Gott, was alles mir noch fehlt,
 Was meinem Volke fehlt. Doch weiss ich auch:
 Wie Menschen einmal sind, sind wir die besten,
 Auch sind wir noch nicht, was wir werden sollen;
 Was, unverstanden von uns selber noch,
 In unsern Herzen wächst, ist noch nicht reif,
 Doch wird es reif, wird es ein neuer Geist,
 Den wir der ganzen Menschheit schenken werden . . . ⁸⁰

The date of composition, 1917, precludes any intent on the dramatist's part to rely for effect on the historical parallelism of the post-war period. But this reflection is unimportant in Ernst's case, since the timeless aspects of Yorck's career as an episode in German history constitute the conceptual basis of the whole work. One cannot doubt that the poet, in the years after the war, hoped his *Yorck* would be destined to bring spiritual solace and strength to many of a floundering generation.⁸¹

⁸⁰ P. 36.

⁸¹ Gottfried Hasenkamp, in his review of *Yorck*, reprinted in *Elsner*, VI, (1934), 157, supplies apparent confirmation for this: "Paul Ernst hat mit diesem Werk in seine Gegenwart hineinsprechen wollen, wie er es in dem Vorwort zu einer geplanten Aufführung im Dezember des letzten Jahres (i.e., 1932) geschrieben hat:

'Nicht kann der Dichter den zu zeichnen wagen,
 Den heute Gott geschickt hat unserer Not.
 Vielleicht versteht ihr besser dessen Wesen,
 Habt ihr gelernt der Andern Seele lesen.'"

Whether this natural hope was realized is a question, the answer to which involves, as a necessary supplement to the foregoing appreciative delineation, a critical estimate of the relation between artistic effort per se and artistic result in toto. Why did Ernst's drama remain, as a stage play, stillborn until 1933, or for sixteen years after its conception? A drama by an eminent author, and in a country with dozens of subsidized theaters able to experiment? Either, one may say, because it contained small promise of any stage effectiveness (which implies a minimum of audience-response); or because the presentation of Prussian virtues in a religious halo was too much for the immediate post-war generation whose traditional beliefs had been rudely shattered, especially in regard to themselves as a chosen people led by divinely inspired rulers. It was probably a combination of both reasons and it is significant to note that the stage birth of the play coincided with the rising tide of optimistic nationalism (1933) which soon assumed something of the character of a religious cult and which would accept joyfully the sentiments of Yorck regarding German superiority.

This specific attempt of Ernst to create a modern German classical drama, wherein the mutually strengthening components of form and content blend to produce superior aesthetic and ethical effectiveness, has fallen far short of its mark. As a drama it is singularly ineffective, and obvious faults in both form and content—inseparable in the theory and endeavor of the author—may be pointed out. The exposition, although competent, is definitely recitative rather than dramatic. The third act, which contrasts the moral stature of Prussian and French officers, has a decided narrative quality. The fourth and fifth acts, though they have more sanction for their dramatic garb, contain only one point of tense interest, which is centered in Yorck's speech, already quoted in part, embodying his actual decision.

Further, the conflicts involved are expressed for the most part with so much restraint that they could be described as cases of static opposition rather than active clashes of opinion.⁸² Again, the vitality admittedly imparted to some of the characters remains, also because of this restraint, quite pale. They are not full, red-blooded creations. The medium for this too carefully controlled expression,

⁸² E.g., the Yorck-Macdonald, Yorck-Clausewitz dialogues in I. The Yorck-Paulucci conversations in II and IV are interesting but not exciting.

blank verse, although worlds above the ridiculous heroics of Brauny's "German epic," lacks on the whole the inspiration of real poetry, and much of it should be defined as attractive, measured prose, formally excellent, rather than as poetry in blank verse.

An example of the extreme reserve typical of Ernst's treatment of the subject is contained in the closing speeches of act four, where Yorck in very sober words tells his assembled officers of his decision to disobey the king and, asking for their reaction, receives the brief answer: "Wir gehen mit."⁸³ Through such austerity Ernst obtains to be sure a certain dignity and impressiveness for his exposition of the ethical conflicts, but at the cost of that live and constant interest, of that pulsing vitality, which are necessary to make a play strong and moving and to assure genuine response from the audience. The ultimate effect of the drama is far below the quality of the effort.

Another weakness is the portrayal of Yorck in the last two acts in a too religious rôle as a priest of Prussia. The sincerity of expression is not to be denied, but the height of the pedestal and the color of the priestly cloak appear incongruous for the soldier-hero of history and even for the hero of the play in his more earthly moments. To complete the priestly atmosphere of the monologue previously quoted, and of the monologue that closes act five, nothing is lacking but an altar. Not the content is at fault, but the manner. This criticism remains valid despite the fact that the sanctification of Prussianism is the dramatist's deliberate intent.

Ernst Lissauer: *Yorck*: First performed at the Schauspielhaus in Kiel, September 6, 1924.

This work by Lissauer affords an excellent contrast to the *Yorck* of Paul Ernst. On the same generally high plane of artistic expression, it has been much more successful in the theatre. Indeed it is the only drama so far discussed which attained a solid stage success. This is a tribute both to the popular interest in a dramatically attractive treatment of the soldier-hero theme and to the qualities determining this attractiveness. Furthermore, it has been accorded general recognition as a significant drama and poetical composition.

Specific points of contrast between Paul Ernst's play and that of Lissauer make the reasons for the high potential and actual re-

⁸³ IV, p. 41.

sponse to the latter self-revelant. Fresh, clear, vigorous prose replaces well-chiseled but austere classical pentameters as the medium of expression; fullness of realistic detail, deliberately and completely lacking from Ernst's drama, provides a convincingly natural background for the main purpose of character delineation; and the characters possess a satisfyingly full-blooded vitality.⁸⁴ Yorck's clashes with his irresolute king, with the French, his unnatural allies, and with the Prussian officers in Russian service, his enemies by disagreement on the question of patriotic duty, are sharp and tense, quite opposite to the impression of restraint, almost of passivity, which the same conflicts make in the more classical play. The hero's religious sincerity and moral eminence, too, are convincing without the aura of priesthood.

Frank admiration for Lissauer's very considerable positive achievement does not exclude the recognition of complementary imperfections. The fine dramatic tempo of the first two acts, in which the situation progresses from Yorck's acquiescence to the bitter duty of commanding a Prussian auxiliary corps in the French army, to his temptation to revise his concept of duty upon learning of Napoleon's catastrophic defeat, is unfortunately not sustained. The action slows down and there is an over-concentration on Yorck's ethical dilemma, which puts a great strain on the spectator's interest. Especially in the fourth act, which is largely argumentative, does one feel that the self-examination of the hero is overdone to the detriment of the dramatic situation. As an attempt to be explicit in character exposition, to project the almost purely subjective struggles of Yorck forcefully on the objective consciousness of the audience, this act is in the nature of a tour de force. An unfortunate consequence is that Yorck's naturalness suffers somewhat. He is an appealing, living figure, very strong in his way, but he lives, as presented, too much by argument.

The prologue, depicting a conference between Frederick William III and Yorck concerning the latter's proposed appointment as tutor to the crown prince, is also a bit overloaded with pros and cons that are in part hard to follow. But that is not so disturbing in the exposition as in the climactic part of the play. However,

⁸⁴ I.e., except for the figure of the army chaplain, Schulze, mechanically inserted in Act IV to guide Yorck's conscience.

Lissauer's interpretation of Yorck's character per se is penetrating, humanly moving, and on the whole convincing.

The above scene, incidentally, furnishes an interesting example of a legitimate device employed by dramatists to produce useful stage conflicts vis-à-vis not provided by history itself. This meeting, which afforded an excellent means of bringing out the sharp differences between the personalities of Yorck and the Prussian king, never took place. Actually Yorck addressed his objections to an appointment as princely mentor to the king's adjutant, Köckeritz.⁸⁵

A certain conceptual confusion is present in the last act of the play. The first four are a cohesive unit dealing with a character problem which is definitely solved at the end of the fourth act when Yorck signs the pact with the Russians. The fifth act, placed at Breslau a few months later, is thus necessarily in the nature of an epilogue, although by itself it is a dramatically excellent portrayal of the general consequences of Yorck's historic step. It revives and brings to a climax the personal opposition between Yorck and the king begun in the prologue. The former's reversion to his habitual self as a rigidly obedient servant and his willingness to sacrifice himself for his insubordination were to be logically expected. Not until the very last lines of the play is a new facet in his character introduced: the revelation that he had had to struggle hard to suppress the temptation to accept popular acclaim for his act at Tauroggen and dominate his king.

Yorck's explanation to the representatives of the people that he had acted on secret orders from the king, to whom then, they should show their gratitude, is a denouement invented to save the monarchy from embarrassment. But the particular occasion for this embarrassment, the importunateness of the Breslau populace, was also invented by Lissauer. It would seem that he added this act to show that the principle of unquestioning loyalty to the monarchy—no doubt symbolical for the Prussian ideal of strict subordination to authority—had survived a crisis, although in the person of King Frederick William III an eventually fatal weakness in the strictly monarchical idea was forcefully presented. The interest in abstract ideas predominates here over the interest in personality, and it becomes evident that Lissauer has alternately placed emphasis on

⁸⁵ Droysen, *op. cit.*, I, 193.

the drama as an exposition of character (*Charakterdrama*) and as an exposition of politico-ethical concepts (*Ideendrama*).

It should be clear from the foregoing discussion that Lissauer's *Yorck* is not the product of superficial patriotism bent on exploiting historical parallels, but first and foremost a serious and deeply personal poetic treatment of the core of Prussian character and ideology. Like Ernst's play, it is a national (Prussian) play in the best sense. We know that the problem had engaged Lissauer for several years before its completion in 1921,⁸⁶ but it is a legitimate assumption that the poignancy of Yorck's predicament, and the increased actuality of the Prussian theme in those first post-war years in which he completed the work, were clearly realized by him and found expression in the general temper of the finished version.

In any case there is no question but that the effectiveness of the play was materially increased by active currents in the national atmosphere of the nineteen-twenties. Its potentialities for stimulating patriotic emotions were apparently realized by the French, for an early performance planned for Cologne had to be abandoned because of the repressive measures enforced during the Ruhr occupation.⁸⁷ A critic reporting the first performance in Kiel in 1924 remarks on the "enthusiastic reception" accorded it by the audience.⁸⁸ The comment by a reviewer on the first performance in Cologne, when it was finally produced there in 1928, is even more interesting and contains a significant general reflection on the response of a German audience to the type of drama with which this dissertation is concerned:

Uniformen schaffen auf der Bühne immer ein lebendiges Bild zumal bei einem Volk das entmilitarisiert ist. Vielleicht entzündete eine heimliche Sehnsucht und das Aufleben unterdrückter kriegerischer Instinkte den freundlichen Beifall der Zuschauer, die der Held kaum begeistern konnte, und denen der schwache König das Königtum verdächtig zu machen geeignet war.⁸⁹

One might add that the audiences of the twenties were not at all averse to the monarchical criticism implied in the pathetic figure of Frederick William III in view of their experience with his descendant. This significant point will be given special considera-

⁸⁶ In a personal communication of Oct. 29, 1936, the author wrote that his work on the play extended over the years 1916-21.

⁸⁷ *Idem*: the author said briefly that "die Kölner Aufführung (1924) unterblieb wegen der Ruhrbesetzung."

⁸⁸ Wilh. Lobsien, *Die Literatur*, XXVII (1924/25), 105.

⁸⁹ Paul Bourfeind, *Die Literatur*, XXX (1927/28), 350.

tion later, as will incidental details of dialogue whose special effect admittedly rests on the consciousness of historical parallels, at least on the part of the audience. Since they are very minor in character and do not at all disturb the artistic sincerity, it is not unfair to the dramatist to assume that he was conscious, too, as he wrote them, of their peculiar applicability to the present.

The disagreement over the concept of true patriotic action does not end in a fatality as in Solms' *Vor der Zeit*, but it does produce sharply antagonistic dialogue between Yorck and the officers who even went further than the Friedrich of that play and fought with the enemy (Russia) against their own countrymen under Yorck in open warfare. The dogmatic attitudes of both parties are clear from the following excerpts:

Dohna: Es gibt Zeiten, wo die Pflicht eben darin bestehen kann—

Yorck (ironically): Nicht seine Pflicht zu tun.⁹⁰

Yorck: Sie kämpfen als Preussen gegen Preussen.

Clausewitz: Wir kämpfen gegen Preussen für Preussen.⁹¹

This point is dealt with in all the Yorck plays but is most prominent here.

The manifestations of patriotic consciousness inspired by the figure of Yorck are by chronology of composition and stage appearance well spread out over the post-war years and invite to brief reflection on their connection with the shifting outward aspects of this period.

The divergencies of literary style respond better to logical explanation than in the motley array of Schill plays. The earliest plays from point of view of composition, those of Ernst, 1917, and Kaibel, 1919, represent antitheses to the waning drama of naturalism. Paul Ernst's neo-classic drama is an example of his passionate effort to combat naturalism, which he termed the negation of all ethical and aesthetic values, with a dramatic form which would stress the affirmation and synthesis of these values.⁹² The expressionistic features of Kaibel's *Hochverrat* illustrate the violent reaction to naturalism that had started even before the war. But the play is a sty-

⁹⁰ I, p. 30.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁹² Ernst's polemics against naturalistic drama are a conspicuous feature of *Der Weg zur Form*.

listic hybrid, for the historically realistic portions combined with the symbolism already point to the return to objective composition which characterized the works of the mid-twenties. In Lissauer's *Yorck* the new realism is strongly subjective; in Kyser's play, factual and superficial.

Viewed in the shifting light of political circumstance, the group includes: a play (Kaibel's) written during the chaotic interval between the armistice and the signing of the peace treaty; another (Kyser's) written just a decade later, 1929, when Germany had made long strides towards recovering its strength and independence if not its balance. The one (Ernst's) that antedates our period of study is just as pertinent thereto because it emphasizes a deep, moral phase of patriotism that is independent of superficial currents.

In contrast to the Schill group all the *Yorck* plays were written for and reached the regular stage. Kaibel's *Hochverrat* and Lissauer's *Yorck* were performed when German emotions were at high pitch in protest to the occupation of the Ruhr (1923-24). The stage revival of the latter in 1928 in the recently occupied city of Cologne, where performance had been impossible in 1924, reflects the country's gradual relief from foreign pressure. The other two works appeared on the stage at the beginning of a period of militant nationalism (1933) which, as we have seen, produced a markedly increased demand for plays which could satisfy the desire to indulge in the display of effervescent patriotism.

The hero of these plays was the center—both subject and object, indeed—of the controversy about the justification for preferring an inspirational interpretation of duty to the legalistic (mechanical) one which the Prussian system demanded. Only in Kaibel's version is *Yorck* infected, during the process, with any revolutionary spirit. In Ernst's play, prophetic insight gives *Yorck* his sanction and provides the first instance of patriotism presented on a religious pedestal; while Lissauer stresses the significance of the problem for the foundations of personal character. The German spectator might take his choice of these solutions to a character problem peculiar to his political nature. All the plays, however, offered him an opportunity for appreciative response to the depiction of the first successful step taken a century before to liberate the country from foreign oppression similar to that of his own time.

Intra-family dissension over "true" patriotic action, so prom-

inent in the Schill plays, provides a minor plot for one Yorck play, Kyser's; and common to all four is the example of Schill-like emotional patriotism offered by the officers such as Clausewitz and Dohna, who contended that they were serving their country best by deserting to the enemy and fighting against it rather than for it while it was allied with France.

THE GNEISENAU PLAYS

Historical Sketch

August Neidhardt von Gneisenau, a year younger than Yorck, was one of the greatest military personalities Germany has produced. Brilliant as a strategist, endowed with tremendous energy and determination which made him a successful driver of men, his fiery patriotism was supported by extraordinary mental gifts. To his comprehensive talents in the art of war were associated a broad, statesmanlike vision and wide cultural interests of unusual quality.

Gneisenau first attracted attention by his successful defense of Kolberg in 1807, for which he received the *pour le mérite* and a lieutenant-colonelcy. In the same year he was appointed to the Military Reorganization Commission and advocated with Stein and Scharnhorst the reorganization of the army on a national basis which proved the foundation of Prussia's ultimate success against France.

During the campaigns of 1813-15 Gneisenau, as Blücher's chief of staff, was the directive force behind the activities of the Silesian army, to which is generally conceded a large share of the credit for the victories against Napoleon. While Blücher was temporarily *hors de combat* at Waterloo, Gneisenau assumed full responsibility and gave the order which brought the Prussians on the field in time to save Wellington. In 1825 he was made a field marshal.

In politics Gneisenau was not Prusso-centric but had the same Pan-German viewpoint as that other prominent non-Prussian, Stein. Like the latter, his sympathies were with the people, in whose free development as a nation and as individuals he firmly believed. His outspokenly liberal-democratic attitude is demonstrated by a memorandum he submitted to Frederick William III urging the latter to grant the people a constitution.

Gneisenau has never occupied a position comparable to Yorck

or Schill as a favorite military hero of popular tradition. His more complex personality, as soldier, patriot, and man, received only two treatments during the period: the widely acclaimed one by Wolfgang Goetz (1925), and the deservedly lesser known one by Carl Leyst (1933). The former follows Gneisenau's career from the beginning to the end of the Wars of Liberation (1813-15);⁹³ Leyst's play deals only with events taking place between March and October, 1813.

Wolfgang Goetz: *Neidhardt von Gneisenau*. First performed at the Landestheater in Stuttgart, November 28, 1925.

The human appeal of this drama arises from its full depiction of the semi-tragic figure of the driving genius in Germany's fight for liberation as he was envied or misunderstood, unappreciated or disliked, by all his contemporaries save a few devoted intimates; and of how the mantle of both official and popular glory fell upon other shoulders than his own—to be perpetuated thus by tradition. Although he was the brains guiding Blücher's victories, Gneisenau knew full well that he would have little share in the fame accorded this simple-hearted, courageous, rough-and-ready old soldier who was the type of popular hero par excellence. The fact that Blücher himself gave full credit to his aide made it less bitter for Gneisenau but did not alter the latter's fated misappreciation. Goetz has Gneisenau express this in a perfect mot:

Clausewitz (his friend): . . . Es ist einer, der heisst Gneisenau und wird in alle Ewigkeiten—

Gneisenau: Blücher heissen. Amen.⁹⁴

The whole content of the play is an attempt to interweave in a convincing pattern Gneisenau's rôle in those momentous days of German history with his intense inner struggle to resign himself to his fate—which was one of misunderstanding and lack of outward reward. At the end he finds nobler satisfaction in the inner conviction of his genius and of his vital contributions to the freeing of Germany. In weaving this pattern the author has

⁹³ The author, Wolfgang Goetz, b. Leipzig, 1885, now living in Berlin, is a short-story writer and dramatist. Two other dramas of his that have been produced are: *Robert Emmet* (1927), and *Der Ministerpräsident* (1936).

⁹⁴ III. i., p. 124.

made the background of those critical years, in both panorama and specific detail, so splendidly alive, colorful and natural, that its attractive force is frequently as strong as that of the central character and his fortunes. The latter, although the only person showing development during the play, does not monopolize the interest and sympathy of the audience but at various times shares one or both with Blücher, Scharnhorst, Yorck, or King Frederick William; and live interest is maintained in the underlying, super-personal fate of Germany which is at stake throughout.

One of the remarkable accomplishments of Goetz is that he has imparted a breath of convincing naturalness not only to the more important characters but also to many of the numerous minor ones, including the more or less anonymous common soldiers. In drawing these latter figures he has employed naturalistic technique with excellent results. One must admire, too, the scene in the king's antechamber,⁹⁵ in which many personalities of the military and court factions are presented, and their antagonisms finely and realistically revealed by competent touches of creative character-drawing—all with splendid economy of effort.

Gneisenau achieved quick, almost universal success on the German stage and its popularity lingered for several years.⁹⁶ The preceding paragraphs have brought out qualities of content and composition which explain at least in part its wide appeal. It has received so much critical consideration that there would be little point in developing a detailed analysis of the excellencies or deficiencies of its dramatic structure, thereby adding merely one more opinion. We can proceed, therefore, to a closer examination of the patriotic character of the play and its significance as such for the dramatist and for his German public.

The play, as poetically significant as the Yorck plays of Ernst and Lissauer, far outranked even the latter in stage effectiveness. Fortunately for the purposes of this examination, the unusually wide-spread interest it aroused led the author to ex-

⁹⁵ I. iii., pp. 32ff.

⁹⁶ Periodical literature reflecting the sustained interest in the drama is quite extensive and continued at least to 1931. Its success in book form is also significant evidence. A 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Verlagsanstalt, 1927) put the 10-11th thousand on the market in 1930 and Velhagen and Klasing published a school edition in 1932.

press himself on various points of conception and composition.⁹⁷ He contends, for instance, that as a dramatic poet his chief aim was to re-create a human fate with its aspects of universality, and that he assigned no essential importance to the specifically German dress, which he regards merely as a "happy coincidence" for the development of a purely poetical conception. He goes so far as to say that the hero might well have been French and borne the name of General Lazare Hoche.⁹⁸ According to the author's own statement, then, the German national content is only a secondary element, whereas even the authors of the outstanding Yorck dramas were directly intent upon giving poetic expression to a national, that is, Prussian spirit.

Although a happy coincidence may have attended the conception of the work, it is doubtful if the author could or would insist that in the finished play the German subject, and the national spirit with which it is very definitely imbued, are incidental elements, and that they did not furnish the life-blood and life-breath for the re-creation of a heroic human who was, withal, German. It may be noted, indeed, that the play reveals the author's very obvious affection, admirable in both its strength and sanity, not only for the titular hero, for whom he confesses a "fanatic love,"⁹⁹ but also for his country and its historical destiny, and for the other deserving men who helped determine it.

Although we grant a commendable measure of universality to the play as a poetic composition, the assumption is more than justified that the above factors contributed greatly to its unusual popular success. In other words a similarly capable treatment of the French general Hoche would have attained decidedly less popularity. Or, to put it in still another way, neither this nor any other play so thoroughly German in content and spirit could possibly arouse an interest among a non-German public approaching that aroused in its native country. And by the nature of things, it cannot give the foreign spectator, however well-

⁹⁷ The substance of Goetz' public and private remarks on *Gneisenau* is repeated in Dr. F. Naudieth's introduction and notes to the Velhagen and Klasing school edition. This material is used here.

⁹⁸ Hoche was the victorious leader against the Austrians in the campaign of the French revolutionary army on the Rhine, 1797. Goetz' own words as supplied by Naudieth (note to p. 54, line 33) are paraphrased here.

⁹⁹ Goetz as quoted by Naudieth in note to p. 54, line 33.

versed in and sympathetic toward German history, the same living, intimate experience it holds for the German with his native national consciousness. This is expressing, of course, a general limitation attached especially to historical dramas of specifically national, military content.¹⁰⁰

Keeping in mind the mutual contributions of content and concept, what aspects of the former may we assume to have been particularly effective in conditioning the extraordinary audience-response? The general patriotic tenor of the piece has already been dwelt on and the unusually favorable receptivity of post-war Germany to plays dealing with 1806-15 is demonstrated by the whole group of plays under discussion.

In the first place Goetz has created in Gneisenau an inspiring symbol of the courageous, embattled Germany of 1813-15 which did not fail to reëcho in the hearts of the descendants in the nineteen-twenties who were struggling to reforge, under just as great internal and external stress, similar courage and self-confidence. Describing the popular temper of 1813, which produced the Wars of Liberation, Gneisenau, the genius, generously accredits to it his own indomitable will to victory. At the beginning of the play he says: "Es ist ein Wille darin. Und der Schrei ist jetzt da und der Wille."¹⁰¹ Further on in the same scene the tremendous exertion he is undergoing to build up this unconquerable will-power is disclosed in a short, hysterical outburst against Germany's pitiful estate. He shouts at Clausewitz: "Ich will, dass es vorbei ist!"¹⁰²

The tension behind this steeling of will persists throughout the play but the turning point is in the fifth scene of act three. Here Gneisenau's alter ego in the guise of the soldier Winter admonishes him not to lose faith in himself though all others have lost faith in him, but to realize his power and persevere for the sake of his flag and country. His renewed strength of will and its effective projection upon his subordinates is very soon revealed by the order to his aide Zastrow to carry on an almost

¹⁰⁰ A special examination of this subject, which can only be suggested here, would yield much of interest.

¹⁰¹ I. ii., p. 19.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

impossible pursuit after the battle of the Katzbach:

Zastrow: Katzbach und Neisse sind freilich kaum zu passieren.

Gneisenau: Kaum heisst doch.

Zastrow: Es entzieht sich meiner Kenntniss. Aber Herr Jeneralmajor, Sie sind ein jrossartiger Kerl.¹⁰³

This vivid struggle of the will running all through the play supplies it with a compelling, underlying rhythm.

Another notable feature is the dramatist's almost ruthlessly realistic treatment of the creatures of Germany's modern heroic age, which is thus shown in its manifold petty and tragic weaknesses, as well as in its strength. The hero, his king, Yorck, Blücher, other personalities of court and army are shorn of the tinsel of traditional prejudice and presented in their failings. For Goetz prefers truth to sentiment and shows a healthy dislike for hypocritical, sanctimonious patriotism and for the superficial hurrah brand.

Apparently this sane humanizing of historical personages was also not distasteful to very numerous German theatre-goers of the middle and late twenties. Having overcome, temporarily at least, the hysteria which first followed defeat, the disillusionment regarding the formerly sacrosanct pre-war regime undoubtedly left them critically disposed towards other periods as well. The wide popularity of *Gneisenau* clearly belies even the suggestion of any general resentment.¹⁰⁴ Goetz' treatment is not, moreover, irreverent, for in high relief in it are consistent bright threads of true heroism certain to awaken a compatriot's just pride in the intrinsic value of his national heritage.¹⁰⁵

About half of the play is taken up with intimate scenes and problems of active campaigning which would naturally attract the interest of a permanently war-conscious generation. One point in particular must have involuntarily quickened the imagination of the audience to poignant reflections on their country's

¹⁰³ III. v., p. 165.

¹⁰⁴ Goetz' treatment of Blücher, however, was the subject of some controversy. Stresemann, then Foreign Minister, was particularly vehement in his objections, which the author answered at length in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Jan. 21, 1927. This article is substantially quoted by Dr. Naudieth. Cf. *supra*, p. 48n.

¹⁰⁵ The publication of a school edition is further confirmation.

fortunes in the late war. This is the portrayal in act two of a discussion in the headquarters of Blücher's army about military obedience in actual warfare.¹⁰⁶ Scharnhorst and Gneisenau are both convinced of the faultiness of the Russian plan for the battle of Gross-Görschen chosen by the superior command. Blücher is willing to act according to the conviction of his strategists. Gneisenau at the last minute decides to sacrifice his better judgment to the principle of mechanical obedience and follow the Russian plan to the letter. The decision has disastrous consequences.

To a defeated people constantly concerned with all rumors and contentions about the possibly tragic blunders made by their army leaders during the war this incident may well have recalled the German failure on the Marne in 1914, about which a controversy still rages. The cause frequently assigned to this defeat, which many Germans regard as the great tragedy of the war, is the mechanical obedience of the front army to an unfortunate order from the supreme command.¹⁰⁷ A direct mention of the Marne, which the Gross-Görschen analogy could not include, is supplied later in the play. In Gneisenau's discussion of the campaign in France in 1814 we find the following words:

. . . An der Marne, dem gottverfluchten Fluss, hat er zweimal meinem Rat entgegengehandelt und hat uns drum nicht nur zweimal um den Sieg geprellt, sondern vier Niederlagen dafür eingehandelt . . .¹⁰⁸

It is obvious that this rather pointed reference to the Marne would establish in the minds of the audience a direct, if momentary, association with the Marne campaign of exactly a century later.

In striking contrast to Lissauer's *Yorck*, which is definitely confined in its ideology to Prussianism, Goetz' play is imbued

¹⁰⁶ Cf. II. ii, iii., pp. 89ff.

¹⁰⁷ The order transmitted by Lieut. Col. Hentsch to Kluck's army is referred to; cf. *Der Weltkrieg*, IV (Berlin: Mittler, 1926), esp. chap. 12, "Rückblick," pp. 508-543. The historic incident is the subject of the drama by P. J. Cremers: *Die Marneschlacht. Tragödie*. 1933. Public interest in military aspects of the war is most clearly reflected by the constant appearance in Ger. newspapers of the period of articles by regular military correspondents. Eds. on anniversary dates of the Marne Battle contain evidence of this particular controversy.

¹⁰⁸ V. i., p. 217.

with the wider, more all-embracing German spirit. Although there is no sanction for a dogmatic statement as to the cause of the relative popularity of the two plays, the above fact does give another reason for assuming a potentially wider appeal on the part of *Gneisenau*. Its titular hero himself symbolizes this difference. To begin with, Gneisenau is not Prussian-born. Further, although in the immediate service of Prussia, his whole behavior shows that in spirit he feels himself to be in the higher service of the German people and of the greater Germany to come. The problem of military obedience is a very important element, to be sure, but not the exclusive one as in *Yorck* and it is not handled with such awe as in the latter. Again, Gneisenau's wide cultural interests, which Goetz takes pains to reveal,¹⁰⁹ are typical of a broader German culture than the narrow Calvinism of the Prussian Yorck.

Carl Leyst: *Gneisenau und Napoleon*. First performed at the Schauspielhaus in Potsdam, April 12, 1933.

Leyst has some reputation as an historian of the Napoleonic period and it is not surprising that his play—differing radically from all the others—is largely preoccupied with history for its own sake. It is an informative historical drama of the type which the Germans designate as a *Dokumentenstück* and contains scarcely a breath of the convincing imaginative-creative power so conspicuous in Goetz' play.¹¹⁰ Even to term it dramatized history would be inaccurate because there is far too little drama. Live interest is awakened only two or three times. The rest might be termed a history lesson in dialogue, competent, perhaps, but too long and for the most part dull.

The first two acts show Gneisenau battling first to push

¹⁰⁹ In I. i., p. 10, Gneisenau mentions that he directed a performance of *Wallensteins Lager*; in II. ii., p. 89, we find him dropping his composition of verse to discuss plans for a coming battle. Goetz also dwells on his interest in Chamisso's creation, *Schlemihl*, III. i., p. 120.

¹¹⁰ This opinion is substantially confirmed by Hans Knudsen, whose review of the play in the *Rheinisch-Westphälische Zeitung* is reprinted in *Elsner*, V (1933), 274-275. For data on Leyst as a historian, cf. F. Otto, "Carl Leyst," *Lpzg. Neueste Nachrichten* (Jan. 16, 1921). On the basis of his historical studies Leyst has written a whole series of Napoleonic dramas, of which this is the most recent. Other titles are: *Danton*, *Hoche und Bonaparte*, *Talleyrand*, *Aspern* (cf. App. II, no. 63).

through his plans for army reform and then for the offensive against Napoleon. In both he is just barely successful in overcoming the opposition of the court party. The whole third act is concerned with portraying Napoleon and his aides in their predicament before the battle of Leipzig. The insertion of this act is of course in keeping with the dramatist's main purpose, which is to reveal how Napoleon met his master in Gneisenau. Technically, however, it presents a complete break in dramatic interest, which is suddenly switched from the German camp to the French. This break is only very primitively bridged over by a decidedly confused intrigue revolving around a fantastic Countess Kielmannsegge. The fourth and last act reverts to the German camp after the battle of Leipzig. It shows Gneisenau failing to get approval for his next plan, which is to capture Napoleon, over the opposition of the court party and Metternich. Aside from the rather irrelevant intrigue mentioned above there is scarcely any plot. The characterization is only mediocre and often suffers from stilted and banal speeches.¹¹¹

The compelling subjective picture of Gneisenau's character by Goetz is replaced by a portrayal of this dynamic, extraordinarily able individual as one whose tremendous strength of will is a given, constant factor and who therefore betrays little sign of the ebb and flow of inward struggle for unshakable self-confidence. The conflict is in other words purely objective and live dramatic interest is confined to those scenes where the hero, far less tactful and much more stubborn than in Goetz' presentation, storms against his formidable opponents: the king, his civil advisers (except Hardenberg), Knesebeck, the Austrians. Since the events of history well-known to any German audience justified Gneisenau's aims, and since Leyst portrays his opponents as unsympathetically as Goetz, the hero's astounding obstinacy is made palatable enough for favorable reception.

In view of the very mediocre stature of *Gneisenau und Napoleon* as a dramatic composition, the explanation for any audience appeal must be sought chiefly in the content.¹¹² We know that his-

¹¹¹ E.g., II, p. 32: Gneisenau: ich kann gar nicht genug Feinde haben—; IV, p. 80; *Gneisenau*: Sie haben Ehrfurcht vor Napoleon—ich habe Ehrfurcht vor Gott und Deutschland—

¹¹² The title page of the printed drama proclaims that the first performance was attended by "elementarem Erfolg."

torical research for its own sake preceded the author's dramatic conception—quite the reverse was true with Goetz—and have seen that this precedence is not altered in the play itself, which is strong in fact and weak in imagination. The corollary may be added that it fails in general to establish that intimate relation between the currents of Napoleonic and contemporary history, which is necessary if more than a passing interest is to result.

Chords reëchoing parallels with the present are on the whole confined to incidental points, the strongest of which is a remark by Gneisenau in harmony with the growing clamor for rearmament that characterized the Germany of 1932-33:

. . . wir müssen die Massen erst in die Hand bekommen, sie mit einem wirklichen deutschen Geist erfüllen, den furor teutonicus in ihnen erwecken—¹¹³

There is no Schill problem challenging one to decide his stand, no compelling presentation of deep-rooted Prussian ideology as in the Yorck plays; and as an embodiment of the spirit of German history on a broader scale it lacks what is indispensable: the strong inspirational quality that Goetz' *Gneisenau* possesses. We must surmise, therefore, that factors conditioning favorable reception included a laudable interest in history per se on the part of well-educated theatre-goers, fortified by the interest in national drama which in 1933 was approaching its high watermark. The conjecture is permissible, too, that this second Gneisenau drama, in respect to the response accorded it—and perhaps in its conception as well—owes something to the first, which had been so extraordinarily successful in obtaining for this neglected hero a measure of popular interest that was only rightfully his due. Finally, Leyst's evaluation, a bit too insistent in its manner, of this German commander as a military genius incontestably superior to France's world figure would be an attractive morsel for the appetite of the new nationalism, which has been characterized in part by a renewed insistence on self-prowess.

Whereas the Yorck and Schill plays are concerned with single episodes from Prussian history, the two dramatizations of Gneisenau's career treat German history from a broader perspective. They depict the behavior of personalities on the center stage of the arena of European politics during the Wars of Liberation—with special

¹¹³ I, p. 12.

emphasis of course on German statesmen and generals. The titular hero shares the spotlight with the rulers of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, with the statesmen Hardenberg and Metternich, the soldiers Scharnhorst and Blücher, with Napoleon, his minister Caulaincourt and his marshal, Marmont. There are scenes which focus the spectator's interest on the world-famous battles of Leipzig and Waterloo.

The portrayal of Gneisenau is designed to call forth admiration for a great and gifted patriot who had faith in himself and in his country and who with all the force of his dynamic personality pushed unswervingly towards the goal of a strong and free German nation. In addition the plays are interesting for their depiction of the regrettable but usually unavoidable clash of personal and group ambitions that results when harmony is desperately needed; and for showing the tremendous obstacles that are ever in the way of a man who has both the talent and the determination his country needs to save her in a crisis. This element replaces in a sense the Schill and duty motifs of the previous plays. The duty-inclination issue is present, to be sure, but it is not singled out for exclusive treatment and takes its proper place as one element in a complex series motivating human action on the stage of national, even continental, politics. The exclusion of the Schill motif would follow in any case from the fact that open, national resistance to France had been decided upon at the point when the historical action of both plays begins.

THE LOUIS FERDINAND PLAYS

Historical Sketch

Prince Louis Ferdinand, born in 1772, was a favorite nephew of Frederick the Great, and a cousin of Frederick William III, who reigned during Prussia's conflicts with Napoleon.¹¹⁴ A prince of brilliant intellectual gifts and great personal charm, he led a rather erratic youth but later developed into a more responsible character. He proved his military valor and promise at the siege of Mainz in 1793. Although he was an enthusiastic soldier in actual warfare, his constant need of intellectual stimulus made him detest the bar-

¹¹⁴ His sister, to whom he was deeply attached, was Princess Anton Radziwill, author of the well-known memoirs on Prussian court life, *Forty-five Years of My Life*.

renness of garrison life, which he exchanged as often as possible for the attractions of the then flourishing Berlin salons, such as that of Rahel Varnhagen.

About 1802 Louis Ferdinand became the promoter of a plan to create a Central European bloc against France. He wanted a close alliance between Prussia and Austria that would have the backing of Russia. To the prince's great disappointment the plan fell through at the time, but in the end it proved the only solution to Prussia's dilemma. It is natural to find that he was in general sympathy with the political aims of his friends Stein and Gneisenau. In the summer of 1806 he was a leading spirit in the war party which was chastized by the king for its unheard-of boldness in petitioning him to dismiss his supposedly francophile chancellor, Haugwitz, and take a firm stand against Napoleon.

When Napoleon finally manoeuvred Frederick William into war with him, Louis Ferdinand was given command of the advance guard of Hohenlohe's army and was killed in a *mêlée* during the retreat from the Saalfeld battlefield, October 10, 1806, at the age of thirty-four.

Tradition has treated Louis Ferdinand more kindly than life and he lives on as a dashing, romantic young prince whose potentialities for heroic patriotic accomplishments were never realized. Possessed of wide sympathies which endeared him to the people, of reckless courage combined with military skill of a high order which made him popular with officers and men, of intellectual and artistic gifts which made him an outstanding figure in Prussia's cultured groups, his vibrant personality constantly chafed at the double bit of military and political subordination which rendered his powers permanently semi-impotent—and historically superfluous. From these facts the tragedy of his life, as an individual and as an historical figure, is clear. It is a tragedy of lesser or greater magnitude, according to one's estimate of him as a gifted but irresponsible subordinate, a Schill of royal blood, or as a responsible leader deprived of the opportunity to lead, but worthy of his popular following which dared not follow.

Fritz von Unruh: *Louis Ferdinand Prinz von Preussen*. Written 1913. First performed at the Hessisches Landestheater in Darmstadt, March 22, 1921.

Fritz von Unruh, in this well-known play, has developed fully the implications of personal and national fate inherent in the historical situation, expressed them in scenes of real poetic power, and infused the whole with a patriotic fervor which is entirely admirable. Brilliant in conception, masterly in poetic execution, and possessing undeniable dramatic excellencies, it attained universal popularity and generally high critical recognition. With Goetz' *Gneisenau* it represents the epitome of productive effort contained in our pyramidal group.¹¹⁵

Although written in 1913, *Louis Ferdinand* is very properly included in this study because its performance was forbidden by the imperial government and its remarkably successful stage life, which first made it a drama in the full sense of the word, extends from 1921. The date of composition does, of course, rule out any intentions on the part of the author to embody in it elements peculiarly appealing to the distressed nation of the post-war period. So the examination for our purpose is confined to factors of audience reaction.

A large part of the dramatic conflict arises from a very vivid presentation of the Schill problem, the vital appeal of which for post-war audiences has already been explained. Louis Ferdinand and the officers devoted to him are in the rôle of Schill and his followers. King Frederick William III speaks this time in his own defense and the essence of the problem is presented clearly and movingly in the splendid scene between him and the prince in act two. The latter is carried away by his patriotic enthusiasm, and for him, as for Schill three years later, the honor of Prussia demands defiance of Napoleon at all costs. A part of his most impassioned speech to the king follows:

Die Ehre war Brandenburgs Gestirn: In tiefster Not: die Fackel!
Löscht sie, dann, Schiffe auf dem Meer, streicht eure Preussenflaggen!
Sucht bei den Türken Schutz. . . .¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ This play, like Goetz' *Gneisenau*, has been treated so frequently in respect to form, dramatic qualities, literary significance, etc., that repetition in this study, which has no primary interest in these factors, would be pointless.

¹¹⁶ II. i., p. 58.

The spirited plea for open resistance by the prince and the war party surely found full echo in the Schill-minded among the audiences of the twenties even if their Schill-mindedness remained perforce a mental state. On the other hand Unruh's very just interpretation of the king's natural reluctance, as the ultimately responsible person, to plunge his country into disaster, as well as the tragic outcome of the play (and of the historical episode), are elements which confirmed the judgment of the more responsible, sober-minded people and thus contained a corresponding appeal for them. Through these aspects the play became sharply significant while strong currents of national feeling prevailed during the Ruhr struggle. Moreover the more fundamental implications of the Schill problem are treated with poetic and dramatic ability and presented with more reality in Unruh's play than in any one of the group of inferior plays concerning Schill himself.

More vital to the drama than this element is the Prussian concept of duty, the fulfilment of which is regarded, as in the Yorck plays, as the central moral principle upholding the state.¹¹⁷ Unruh's Louis Ferdinand is sorely tempted, and with much justification, to usurp the supreme leadership of Prussia, for which in the eyes of himself and his supporters he was really destined by nature, and from which he has been kept by the mere accident of birth. Queen Louise, however, whom he adores, exhorts him to follow the path prescribed by duty and to remain resolutely loyal to the lawful king under all circumstances.

Here is the central tragedy. The unfortunate prince, whose gifted, passionate nature yearns for full self-realization in the positive service of his endangered country, is required to condemn his personality to a life of spiritless impotency. Complete resignation to the Prussian law of subordination means then—the death of his own ego. His realization of the awful price demanded of him is expressed during a conversation with the queen

¹¹⁷ The play is prefaced by the words: "Wie über Sterne das Gesetz, erhebt sich über Menschen die Pflicht gross und ernst." Unruh is continuing here on a broader and higher niveau his interpretation of the conflict between personal freedom of action and action determined by strict military obedience (the Kleist-Homburg motif) which he began in *Offiziere*, 1912.

in which the emotions of both are finely portrayed:

Königin: Ich hätte wohl Mitgefühl. Begriffe ich nicht in seiner Tiefe das Gebot der Pflicht!

Louis Ferdinand: Aber, dass es uns auslöscht! vernichtet—begreifen Sie das auch?¹¹⁸

Afterwards he deplores to his subtle tempter, Councilor Wiesel, how repulsive a thing the forced worship of duty is when the ego is so strongly inspired:

Pflichten! Auf den Nacken wieder Pflichten. Zurück vor den Thron! Gute Geister: Gebt mir Stimme, respektvoll genug zu sagen: "Mein König!"¹¹⁹

In the final act after the prince has inwardly resolved to make the sacrifice and has banished all thoughts of usurpation, his heart is dead and he welcomes the probable physical death in the impending battle with Napoleon's overwhelming force, while his presentiment of Prussia's downfall makes him unutterably sad. To the military clique ready to acknowledge him king he says: "Ich schrei Ihnen ins Gesicht: Der Prinz, den Sie suchen, lebt nicht mehr."¹²⁰ And to his subordinate officers ready to die with him: "Welche Hoffnung klebt an mir! Keiner, der die Verwesung riecht?"¹²¹ In the final hour of his life there is a triumphant resurgence of his spirit, and with exultancy, enhanced perhaps by the expectation of death, he leads his officers into battle. Tremendous pathos lies in his words: "Wir gehen zu heiterer Schlacht."¹²²

The appeal of the Schill and the duty motifs in this play is greatly intensified and definitely enlarged by the atmosphere in which they are expanded. It is a setting of noble, inspired patriotism, revealed in genuinely poetic language, assuredly capable of stirring the consciousness of a doubt-torn generation to a firmer belief in what the past had given it—strength shining through weaknesses—and of reawakening or restrengthening a degree of patriotic enthusiasm which was a necessary antidote to the dispiritedness of defeatism and self-doubt. The dramatist makes this atmosphere radiate naturally from the all-pervading

¹¹⁸ III. i., p. 86.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹²⁰ V. i., p. 127.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹²² V. i., p. 129.

spirit of the hero who is so very attractive that his ecstatic patriotism, even where one feels it excessive and unwise, is almost certain to fire the heart of the hearer. The manifestations of this are especially notable in his pivotal dialogue with Queen Louise in the third act. One example follows:

Louis Ferdinand: . . . Was uns beseligt, überströme das Land! In aller Herzen: die Kraft! Das scheint der Weg für Preussens Freiheit! Ich fühle schon, er ist's! Luise! Stürmen wir ihn!¹²³

It should be observed that the play concerns itself solely with Prussia, upon whom all the patriotic affection is bestowed. Thus the response to such sentiments as the following would certainly be greater and more spontaneous among North German audiences:

Louis Ferdinand: Mein König, welches Land ist dein! Die Erde hat kein zweites Preussen! Die Freiheit jeder Scholle märkischen Sandes ist bluterkämpft.¹²⁴

However the author has been able to make Prussianism, or shall we say the Prussians, more generally attractive than they appear in any of the other plays. Moreover since the rest of Germany has had to borrow largely from Prussia for inspirational events of more recent military history the play was assured of a strong appeal throughout Germany. Indeed the spirit of the work is not Prussian in the narrow sense in which it is definitely circumscribed in the Yorck dramas of Paul Ernst and Lissauer. Unruh's task in broadening this spirit, if he considered it a task, was made easy if not completely conditioned by the character and personality of his hero. The reader of history, as well as of this drama, is impressed by the fact that Louis Ferdinand was as untrue to the Prussian type as possible and a tragic misfit at the court of his cousin, Frederick William III. Calvinistic morals and cultural barrenness, the glorification of blind obedience to authority, were characteristics quite foreign to his make-up. With his brilliant and volatile nature, his hatred of all shackles of personal freedom, with his preëminent artistic and cultural interests supplementing his zeal as a military commander, he must

¹²³ III. i., p. 86.

¹²⁴ II. i., p. 59.

be considered and honored as the extraordinary product of a pan-German culture, not merely Prussian.

Unruh's strong, poetically inspired treatment of the Louis Ferdinand theme implies a certain idealization of history. It is not, of course, a cheap sugar-coating of historical reality but instead an idealization inherent in the poetical method which concerns itself chiefly with the spiritual rather than the factual content of the situation. Since the outward, historical manifestations of this inner content very often remain implied and not realized, the dramatic poet frequently exploits the logical potentialities of the latter by his creative imagination as Unruh has done in *Louis Ferdinand*. Although he has departed radically from the sober reality in developing his hero and making a stirring presentation of the spirit of the past, he has not exaggerated this patriotic spirit, which flared up in the Schill episode of 1809, which grew to unconquerable strength in the years 1813-14, and which the people of the nineteen-twenties may well have considered their rightful heritage—a spiritual support in a similar time of national need.

Hans Schwarz: *Prinz von Preussen*. First performed at the Stadttheater in Bochum, February 19, 1935.

This second dramatic version of Louis Ferdinand's personal and historical fate treads earthly ground much more solidly than the first but lacks in return Unruh's inspiring poetic verve. With few exceptions Schwarz' exposition hardly deviates from conventional realism.¹²⁵ He makes a gesture at originality in dramatic structure by dividing his work into seven more or less independent scenes (*Bilder*) instead of the usual five acts. These scenes are preceded by a feeble prologue in rimed verse which is in the nature of a presumptuous invocation to the Spirit of Prussia and apparently designed to impart an impressive breath of hallowedness to the proceedings.

The content of the play itself is a bizarre admixture of imaginative inventions to commendably accurate, substantial reproductions of actual attitudes and situations. Illustrating the

¹²⁵ Hans Schwarz, b. Berlin, 1890, engaged for some time in political journalism, has published 3 vols. of verse, and 2 other dramas: *Rebell in England* (1933), *Pentheus* (1932).

former ingredient are: an imagined conversation with Heinrich von Kleist in Magdeburg and two interviews with Queen Louise, equally unhistorical.¹²⁶ In the closing scene Louis Ferdinand has a vision of the "white lady" who, according to legend, reveals herself to a dying Hohenzollern ruler.¹²⁷ This symbolical superstition is added to the otherwise essentially accurate picture of the prince's activities in his quarters at Rudolstadt on the night before the Saalfeld disaster.

The dramatist's strength of imagination and literary skill, however, leave much to be desired. The imaginative parts, although logically acceptable, do not engender the emotional conviction that the spirit of history is being truly reproduced. The latter remains then only partially, not fully, reborn. The conversation with Kleist, for instance, is inserted awkwardly and despite its interesting content retains a disturbing suggestion of artificiality which is heightened by Schwarz' failure to inject any life-blood into the significant name *Kleist*. The feeling of reality is stronger in the scenes with the prince and the queen vis-à-vis because the characterization is much better and the appealing sentimental tone, although dominant, is not overdone. Nevertheless neither scene carries with it full conviction. The genuineness of their first meeting, especially, is marred by the obvious artificiality of its sentimental setting: the tomb of Frederick the Great in the Garnisonskirche at Potsdam.

Schwarz' talent at character-drawing is definitely limited. He lacks that indefinable ability to breathe life into his creatures that Unruh, Goetz, and Lissauer possessed. Consequently all but a few of the multitude (there are forty-two) are little more than historical mouthpieces. As intimated, the author has succeeded best with the prince himself and the queen, who do have some individuality.

The portrait of the former, although not always convincing, is full, vigorous, and humanly inconsistent. Since this play, in contrast to Unruh's, chiefly enacts Louis Ferdinand's struggle with

¹²⁶ Kleist was in East Prussia in the summer of 1806. Bailieu, *Königin Luise* (Berlin: Giesecke u. Devrient, 1908), chap., "Bruch mit Frankreich," contains information on the relations between the queen and the prince. Cf. esp. p. 189.

¹²⁷ Radziwill, *op. cit.*, p. 50, gives an account of this superstition as it was connected with the death of Frederick the Great.

objective forces, and gives only fleeting suggestions of his inner life, the conception of his personality is built up by addition rather than evolution. The various scenes present him surrounded each time by an entirely new set of persons—a method, incidentally, which weakens dramatic force by demanding frequent readjustment by the audience.

Whether intentionally or not, Schwarz includes a few unattractive features in his portrait of the hero which tend to qualify one's admiration for him. One is inclined to smile at the childish bombast of the prince's action in the third scene which adulterates the genuineness of his patriotic enthusiasm:

Nostitz, es ist zwar gegen alle Korrektheit, aber mieten Sie einen Mann! Der soll zu Pferde durch die ganze Stadt reiten und ein Plakat tragen: 'Preussen soll nicht vergebens warten!'¹²⁸

In the crown council scene too the prince is presented in an unsympathetic light as tactlessly bullying the councilor Lombard:

Lombard: Meine Herren, Sie reden, als ob ich hier nicht im Namen des Königs den Vorsitz führte!

Der Prinz: Schweigen Sie, Lombard! Ihre Zeit ist vorüber, und ich habe nicht mehr die Absicht, mich bei Ihnen aufzuhalten.¹²⁹

And in the second scene he is depicted browbeating the pastor of the Garniskirche in a similar manner. This trait is apparently unfair to the historical Louis Ferdinand and it is not clear why the dramatist has supplied an element that disturbs the reader's (or spectator's) historical as well as aesthetic reaction.

A coincidence fruitful for this study is that the two Louis Ferdinand plays occupy chronologically opposite poles of our group both in respect to composition, where they are separated by twenty-one years (1913-34), and to first stage performance, where the interval is fourteen years (1921-35). Whereas *Unruh's* personal attitude toward the parallels between post-Jena and post-Versailles Germany did not come into question, Schwarz must be considered in his rôle as the first significant representative of the latest phase of this parallelism: the hyper-nationalism of present-day Germany; and his play must be examined in its relation to new factors of au-

¹²⁸ III, p. 79.

¹²⁹ V, p. 142.

dience appeal which are implied by the temper of this new nationalism. This examination of Schwarz' version of the Louis Ferdinand theme will bring to light interesting points of contrast clearly complementary to those inherent in the fact of different authorship.

Above all there is a definite shift in the appeal of the Schill problem. To the audiences of the early twenties, when Germany was as physically helpless as a century before, the problem carried an appeal of tragic immediacy which it could no longer hold for an audience in the Germany of 1935-36, which had grown strong enough and self-confident enough to defy its recent conquerors successfully and throw off the limitations on its sovereignty that had been imposed by them. To the latter audience the depiction of the Schill motif was undoubtedly appealing in that it nourished, by force of contrast, their satisfaction and joyful sense of relief at having finally emerged from the period of hopeless resistance. Further, the intransigent spirit of Louis Ferdinand or Schill, which those of the twenties might cherish for moral support, would now be openly and much more generally applauded by people rejoicing in the realization that this spirit had become triumphant and therefore, to its partisans at least, vindicated.

A very prominent note in the expression of this intransigence, which assumes a special significance for the audience-response of post-1933 Germany, is that honor demands open resistance at all costs. The German's hyper-sensitiveness to national honor is well-known and much of the popularity of the present regime is ascribable to the widely-held postulate, which the regime itself has fostered, that it has "restored" Germany's honor. With this in mind the following excerpt from Kleist's plea to Louis Ferdinand, which is typical of innumerable appeals to honor, becomes particularly pertinent:

. . . Königliche Hoheit, Sie sind unsere Hoffnung, Sie sind der Sinn einer preussischen Politik, die der deutschen Nation ihre Ehre zurückgibt!¹³⁰

The above considerations naturally apply equally well to the Schill plays performed or published since 1933. A renewed interest in heroes of the Schill type is sufficiently demonstrated by the stage popularity of this second treatment of Louis Ferdinand, of Johst's *Schlageter*, and by the revival, already mentioned, of Buchhorn's

¹³⁰ III, p. 95.

earlier Schill drama. This revival justifies the assumption that the partisans of and converts to the new government, who were unrestrained in their reaction to theatrical presentations, felt the significant analogy between the attitude and career of the historical hero and that of the hero of the hour. They undoubtedly regarded their new leader, Hitler, as a Schill who escaped early disaster to emerge finally victorious.

The duty theme is prominent in *Prinz von Preussen* but it is not the core of a subjective tragedy as with *Unruh*. Schwarz' Ferdinand has comparatively little trouble handling the problem and is more a willing than a tragic victim of the inviolability of this moral pillar of Prussianism.

The duty motif has a curiously illogical associate in this play: revolution. This theme receives constant emphasis and sometimes rivals, if it does not surpass, the interest in the personal destiny of the hero. The result, in any case, is that the prince is as interesting as a proponent of the revolutionary spirit as of the sacredness of his duty to subordinate himself. This is clearly demonstrated by the general tone prevailing in the closing scene. It is not a tone of spiritual deadness and despair, as in *Unruh's* play, but an almost buoyant re-affirmation of hope for the future, of the certainty of a national rebirth, regardless of the fate of the monarchy, as Louis Ferdinand's words reveal:

... Preussen wird dennoch bestehen, und diese Unruhe wird wachsen und Deutschland ergreifen! Denn es ist diese Unruhe, die heute unter uns umgeht, diese Unruhe, die Gewähr einer grösseren Zukunft ist! Es ist wichtiger, dass das deutsche Volk darüber zu sich selbst erwacht, als dass ein paar Kronen zu ihrer Selbstrechtfertigung gerettet werden! Preussen soll leben! Und Deutschland soll leben!¹³¹

A short quotation from his last interview with Queen Louise affords still further insight into his unorthodox opinions:

Der Prinz: Sie haben gemeint, ich sei in Gefahr gewesen, Revolutionsprinz zu werden, und das war nicht einmal falsch gemeint. Aber ich weiss deshalb auch, dass wir um eine Erhebung nicht herumkommen, wenn wir über den Abgrund springen sollen. Niemand weiss das besser als ich, denn niemand hat dem Volke so nahe gelebt.¹³¹

It may be taken for granted that the prominence given the rev-

¹³¹ VII, pp. 178-179.

¹³² VI, p. 164.

olutionary spirit was eagerly welcomed by those audiences of the "new" Germany which were rejoicing in their own revolution. Since Schwarz is known as a literary exponent of the national-socialistic viewpoint,¹³³ the obvious inference is that he was fully aware of the favorable response that would be accorded this element and wrote to achieve such approbation. This statement does not necessarily attack the sincerity of his poetic conception of the significance of Louis Ferdinand's life and indeed his general conception of the latter's revolutionary sympathies is well supported by historical fact.¹³⁴ But it does show that Schwartz was at least as much concerned with current events as with history and embraced the opportunity to play upon parallels of sentiment and politics. The play unfortunately contains many of these passages where his exploitation of the past is all too evident and belongs in the category of propaganda.

The prince's significant word *Unruhe*, quoted above, is reëchoed and elaborated by his subordinate, Bernhardt, as follows:

. . . Wir sind wieder Goten! Wir sind wieder eine Unruhe. . . Es lebe Preussen und die Unruhe, die wir in Geschlechtern noch fortzupflanzen hoffen.¹³⁵

Some more sentiments easily recognizable as typical of national-socialistic Germany are taken from the same scene:

Der Prinz: . . . Der Krieg bewahrt uns davor, zu verschlappen. Auf den Soldaten beruhen die Revolutionen der Erde!

Bernhardt: Auf den Kriegen aber beruhen die völkerbildenden Mächte! Was waren unsere Vorfahren, als sie noch friedlich ein Bärenfell trugen und sich um ihre Hausehre oder ihre Aecker zankten! Sie waren so wenig da, dass sie die Geschichte kaum noch zu nennen weiss. Aber als die Goten wanderten und die Wandalen, als wir den Erdteil zusammenstiessen und zerschlugen, da wurden wir völkerbildend! . . .¹³⁶

The whole first part of scene two involves the prince in a dispute with a pastor who has just preached a sermon extolling the virtues of peace. The former is revealed as an arrogantly aggressive

¹³³ E.g., Schwarz has edited the works of the ideological forerunner of national-socialism, Moeller van den Bruck.

¹³⁴ Cf. Oncken, *Das Zeitalter der Revolution, des Kaiserreichs und der Befreiungskriege*, (Berlin: Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1886), II, 259-260; also Bailieu's art. on Louis Ferdinand in *Allg. Dt. Biog.*

¹³⁵ VII, p. 180. It is interesting to note that the last chap. of Mowrer, *op cit.*, is entitled, "The Restless German."

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

anti-pacifist who believes in the submission of the church to the beligerent needs of the state, and the scene seems to have been inserted as a general discussion of the church versus government quarrel which is still going on. The following excerpts make it evident that Louis Ferdinand is to be considered as representing the temper of the present government:

Der Prinz: . . . Was nützen dem Soldaten die Waffen, wenn er sich nicht mit Gott in Uebereinstimmung weiss? Eine Armee, die daran zweifeln muss, ob ihr Handwerk Gott wohlgefällig ist, zerbricht dem Führer in der Faust. . . . Wir werden unser Augenmerk auf die Kanzeln richten müssen. Sonst werden unsere Männer weich, wo sie hart sein sollen.¹³⁷

. . . Das reinigt die Seelen von dem Friedenschleim, den wir soeben über uns ergehen lassen mussten.¹³⁸

(to the pastor): Wie können Sie uns da in den Rücken fallen und den Frieden beschwören, wo nur der unbedingte Wille zum Kampf noch Lebensrecht hat?¹³⁹

It must be said that the dramatist makes the priest a competent defender of the church's point of view, and a situation is thus provided for the awakening of sharply opposed sympathies among the audience, even though one party indulge in much freer expression than the other. Since the prince assumes an unpleasantly bullying tone toward the pastor, one must infer that the part of the audience which finds him an attractive hero in this scene is unreservedly convinced of the absolute righteousness of his attitude to this question of the moment.

These two Louis Ferdinand plays add to our picture of recent patriotic drama in Germany that *rara avis* of modern life, real or reproduced, a hero of royal blood. Although this prince is technically qualified to be the central figure of a high tragedy in the traditional sense, he is a tragic figure, paradoxically, because princes of heroic stature were an undesirable anomaly even in his own day.

Excepting the motif of revolution and the church versus government quarrel which the play of Schwarz stresses for the benefit

¹³⁷ II, p. 48.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 50. This sentiment coincides exactly with that recorded by a N. Y. Times despatch of March 20, 1937, p. 10. It reports a bitter protest by a national-socialistic party organ against a pastor's use of the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" while confirming a member of the Hitler Youth.

of post-1933 audiences, the delineations of Louis Ferdinand's fate present in a sense a synthesis of elements prominent in the dramas dealing with the three preceding heroes. Emotionally extravagant patriotism of the Schill type, with its attendant conflicts, is embodied in a much more significant personality for whom, also, the choice between duty and inclination becomes, as for Yorck, a matter of personal existence and not merely one determined by sentimental impulse. The prince's cultural interests and intellectual sympathies paralleled those of his friend Gneisenau (and also Stein), and his brief career again shifts the focus to the central stage of Prussian history. His inspirational function as a military hero per se is, as in the case of the others, self-evident.

These two dramas at the chronological extremes of our investigation are also widely apart in aesthetic significance. The earlier play by Unruh is imbued with strong poetic idealism, while Schwarz' mediocre talent for dramatic expression is adulterated with considerable propaganda.

Walter Erich Schäfer: *Der 18. Oktober*. First performed at the Prinzregententheater in Munich, February 18, 1932.

The hero of the play chosen to close the group is historically anonymous—an inconspicuous colonel leading the regiment of some Rhenish ally of Napoleon at the battle of Leipzig. His fate merits attention because it offers a new approach to the same fundamental problems involved in the treatments of the heroes prominent in tradition and because it has achieved notable success on the stage, rivaling in this latter respect the much more significant contributions to dramatic literature of Unruh and Goetz. The simplicity of *Der 18. Oktober* and its easily understood content make it intellectually accessible to broader sections of the people and this accessibility has apparently been taken advantage of.

The play is really a model of stage effectiveness and it is interesting to note that the author is a stage director by profession.¹⁴⁰ The unities are observed; the scene presents the ultimate in simplicity, alternating as it does between a soldiers' bivouac before a field hut and the interior of this hut. There are three acts in clear,

¹⁴⁰ Walter Erich Schäfer, b. 1901, is professionally employed by the state theater in Stuttgart. He had written one drama previous to this one: *Richter Feuerbach* (1930).

realistic, dynamic prose; the action is continuous, for the most part rapid, and replete with dramatic conflict to stimulate the attention. Everything is well concentrated with no distracting elements. These factors unite to give a drama of exceptional tempo that holds the interest at high pitch.

The outline of the plot is clear, simple and briefly told. During the summary court-martialing of a spy, Fabricius, caught inciting his men to desert to the Prussian side at dawn on October eighteenth before the renewal of the Battle of Leipzig, Colonel Bauer reveals his stored-up revulsion at having had to fight his German brothers in an anti-German cause in obedience to the command of his ruler, a petty prince. Tragically unbalanced by his emotional outburst, Bauer lets his willing soldiers desert to the Prussians and then kills himself because his sense of honor will not let him survive the incredible breach of loyalty to his ruler.

Schäfer has succeeded unusually well with characterization. He has imbued practically all the officers and men with an attractive vitality and naturalness. The appealing figure of Colonel Bauer is well portrayed. Schlagenhauff, as the type of insolently independent soldier, also stands out. Fabricius, however, the young Prussian agitator for a united Germany, is a little artificial in his patriotic perfection. He has such an attractive rôle that he could be designated as the "associate hero." The weakest figure is the French general, Delarède, whose subservience to the demands of the plot make him merely a puppet. It is rather far-fetched to assume that a French general would have actually allowed a spy to persuade the examining colonel to desert to the enemy during a battle.

The personal tragedy of Colonel Bauer presents the duty-inclination conflict for the first time in a definitely non-Prussian setting. Accordingly the principle of unquestioning obedience is without that peculiar impersonal or super-personal sacredness imparted to it by the Prussians (illustrated by the dramas of Lissauer, Unruh and Ernst) in emphasizing it as the moral foundation upon which their strong state had been built. Stripped of its Prussian accent and presented in its original state, the point at issue is the ancient national virtue of personal loyalty, *Deutsche Treue*.

The question of patriotic subordination to the destiny of a super-personal state could not occur to Bauer, as it did to Yorck, for he was fighting for a politically anomalous principality on the Eu-

ropean checkerboard. His relation to his prince was essentially feudal, not national, and his belief in the inviolability of this relation of personal loyalty is stronger than his emotional conviction that Germans should not be fighting Germans.

It is worth remarking that Bauer is not particularly concerned about his breach of professional honor and that his creator neglects the implications of Bauer's act as the worst of all military crimes—changing sides during a battle. Of course Schäfer wants the audience to approve of the act as being, under the circumstances, thoroughly laudable.

The dramatist gives as much attention to the exposition of the ideal of a united Germany as he does to the personal fate of the Rhenish colonel with which it is linked. Here too Prussia is given a very modest rôle and not played up as the sole champion of the Pan-German idea. The young propagandist Fabricius, although a Prussian, is the mouthpiece for the broader, more comprehensive ideology of Stein, Gneisenau, Friedrich Gentz, and Ernst Moritz Arndt. Schäfer makes Fabricius a mouthpiece in a very literal sense by having him quote or paraphrase both Stein and Gentz.¹⁴¹

The general tone and the specific content of the united-Germany sentiments of 1813 show that Schäfer too was intent on emphasizing like sentiments of his own day which would be enthusiastically received. Thus the following words of Stein cited by Fabricius for the benefit of Colonel Bauer:

' . . . mein Wunsch ist, dass Deutschland gross und stark werde, um sich in seiner Lage zwischen Frankreich und Russland zu behaupten; das ist das Interesse der Nation und ganz Europas. Mein Glaubensbekenntnis ist: ein einiges Deutschland.'¹⁴²

This pronouncement coincides remarkably with the temper of official and popular Germany in 1932-33 as does Bauer's speech closing act two: "Ich warne Sie, Herr General. Dieses Land will frei sein."¹⁴³ The acclaim that would greet these and similar speeches may be taken for granted. The intrinsic qualities of the play that make for stage effectiveness have already been admitted, but it is

¹⁴¹ In II, p. 39, Fabricius uses Gentz' political tract, *An die Fürsten* (1813).

¹⁴² II, p. 37.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

now clear that its extraordinary popularity is partially attributable to the fact that it rode the crest of the wave of resurgent nationalism.

Connected with the above factors, but of independent significance, is the specific attraction the play holds for students. Fabricius is perfectly designed to function as their special hero and call forth tremendous response from this important group in the audience. A former *studiosus philosophiae*, he has laid aside his books to take up arms in the general national uprising against Napoleon and now stands forth, with utter disregard for his life, to plead the all-German cause (*die deutsche Sache*). The denouement then gives the younger spectators cause for expressions of unrestrained joy. Their hero is saved from certain death by an almost incredible series of coincidences to reappear just before the final curtain and lead the Rhenish mutineers against their erstwhile French allies. It is thus plain that in both sentiment and situation *Der 18. Oktober* contains a very special appeal for German student circles which have always been vociferously nationalistic, and for the younger impressionable groups in secondary schools that are so naturally responsive to school-book patriotism.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ A school edition was published in 1933 (Sttgt: Franck). Also indicative is the title of the following art. by J. Wruck, "Die Bedeutung von W. E. Schäfers Schauspiel, *Der 18. Oktober*, für die nationalpolitische Erziehung im Deutschunterricht"; *ZfDtk.*, XLIX, no. 5 (1935).

PART II

SPECIAL ASPECTS OF THE POLITICO-LITERARY PHENOMENON THAT INVOLVE THE PLAYS IN GENERAL

The presentation of the individual dramas in Part One according to hero groups possessed two advantages. First, it permitted successive concentration on each hero and his significance for the nationally conscious Germans of the present generation; second, it enhanced the opportunities for contrast and comparison of literary and ideological treatment. The methodological concept underlying the consideration of these plays as a politico-literary phenomenon, clearly set forth in the general introduction, was made an organic part of the discussion but not systematically followed, for perfect coördination with the hero-grouping was impossible. It is the purpose of the concluding part of this thesis to give permanent clarity to this pyramidal interpretation of the material. The shift in point of attack affords the opportunity to reinforce the basic arguments already advanced by viewing them succinctly in the light of additional evidence, and to establish supplementary theses of a concrete nature likewise supported by concrete evidence.

Part One dealt primarily with those aspects of German patriotism that were inseparably connected with the fate of each hero. Thus the "Schill problem" in the Schill plays, the Prussian problem of duty versus inclination which forms the core of the Yorck plays, the dynamic German nationalism as personified by Gneisenau and Louis Ferdinand. Secondly, factors were introduced peculiar to each play that supported the general thesis of the consciousness and exploitation of historical parallels on the part of the dramatist or his audience. And all material was considered in the light of its function as the dramatic expression of, and the popular response to, the fulfilment of a wide-felt need for reawakening or nourishing, as the case might be, an attitude of patriotic fervor. The elements selected for special discussion from the new perspective are in some cases more or less incidental to the central fable of a given play, but all derive their

importance from the fact that they appear not merely in one play, nor in a single pyramidal group, but in the majority of plays at most if not all levels of articulation. They constitute therefore final evidence proving the essential homogeneity of the material as it illustrates a definite politico-cultural phenomenon. The three plays at the Volkskunst level by Rosikat, Scheffler, and Kayser, respectively, which were not accorded individual treatment in Part One, are now appropriately drawn into the discussion.¹⁴⁵

Expressions of Faith in Germany's Immortality

The struggle of post-war Germany against doubt for its own present and future is manifest in frequent speeches scattered throughout many of the dramas. The forces of depression and despair that followed the realization of national helplessness and the oppressive fear of internal chaos are combated by vehement reiterations of the deep, elemental belief or will to believe in the immortal strength of the nation and the people. In this struggle we see a natural repetition of the phenomenon of 1806-13 when "the German soul, not wishing to die, decided in an immense religious wave, that it was grounded in the eternal."¹⁴⁶ The following direct assertions of an eternal national ego should be regarded as incidental crystallizations of this faith to which all the dramas bear witness and which is encouraged by the general effect of the vivid historical examples.

At the level of Volkskunst there are a few trite avowals of belief in Germany's resurrection which have little force, and fully developed assertions are most conspicuous in the plays of intermediate rank. In the group of closet dramas, for instance, Brauny's *Heldengedicht* is liberally articulate and utters this faith most clearly through the following words from the lips of the dying Schill:

Verzweifelt nicht, noch dürft ihr nicht verzagen,
Der Rettung Stunde wird dem Volk einst schlagen;
Wie sich mein Geist zur ew'gen Freiheit hebt,
So wird das deutsche Volk sich einst erheben,
Aus Schutt und Asche auf zu stolzen Höh'n,
Ein deutsches Volk wird machtvoll einst ersteh'n!¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 8m.

¹⁴⁶ Charles Andler, as quoted by Mowrer, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁴⁷ V. x., p. 88.

In *Die Schillschen* (Klimsch) the belief in *der Tag* finds belligerent expression in a picture of the German people as an avenging host brandishing fire and sword.¹⁴⁸

Among the stage plays of indifferent literary value Kaibel's *Hochverrat* and Kyser's *Schicksal um Yorck* supply very trenchant statements. It is natural to find the most obvious insistence on a deathless Germany in the former play whose explicit purpose, as already disclosed, was to combat the defeatism of the immediate post-war years. Yorck, whose function it is to inject the tonic, speaks in striking biblical metaphor:

Der brutale Sieger kann das Grab mit noch so schweren Felsblöcken zuwälzen und Armeen zur Bewachung vorstellen: am Ostertag zerfliegt das alles wie Spreu.¹⁴⁹

In Kyser's play Clausewitz is the unhesitant believer:

Carl von Clausewitz: Vertrauen Sie dem Genius unseres Volkes!

Yorck: Wir sind ein stumpfes und widerwilliges Volk geworden.

Carl von Clausewitz: In seinem Schosse schlummern Kräfte von hinreissender Gewalt!¹⁵⁰

Louis Ferdinand's (*Prinz von Preussen*) emphatic hopes for the future stirred by the restless spirit of his people have already been illustrated.¹⁵¹

Statements in this tenor are almost completely absent from the dramas of real literary merit nearer the apex of the pyramid. The dramatists of finer abilities apparently felt no necessity, or no desire, to give obvious insistence to the idea of German immortality and were content with whatever implications resulted from their sincere presentation of heroic deeds. A fine reverence pervades those words of Goetz' Gneisenau which come nearest to a direct expression of this abiding, deeply-rooted faith and even they constitute an assumption rather than an assertion:

. . . Wir sind ja Deutsche. Uns ward ein armer Weg: doch sitzt an seinem Ende Gott und breitet seine Hände uns entgegen. . . .¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ III, p. 55.

¹⁴⁹ III. i., p. 113.

¹⁵⁰ IV. vii., pp. 63-64.

¹⁵¹ *Supra*, p. 65f.

¹⁵² V. v., p. 247.

Further in the same speech he speaks humbly of the existence of his ego "in meines Volkes grossem Atem."

The fact that the common and natural belief in an immortal Germany is given marked emphasis in the mediocre plays and handled with reticence in the best ones leads to an observation of more or less general validity, namely that the sure artist suggests what the heavy-handed artisan blurts out.

References to Frederick the Great

All other German heroes are overshadowed by the immortal national idol whose figure projects like an immovable rock above the shifting seas of Prussian and German history, ever giving strength to those struggling to maintain faith in the greatness of their national destiny. As a symbol of Prussian strength, Prussian glory and victory, the historical personality of Frederick the Great has been supplemented, although not supplanted, by the legendary figure whose immortality is often given separate identity by the appellation "Fridericus."¹⁵³ Because of his adoption by the rest of Germany as a leader who satisfies its need for hero-worship, his historico-legendary personality lives beyond the country he ruled while it has at the same time established the permanent hegemony of Prussia and Prussianism in the development of Germany as a political concept.

Frederick the Great's peculiar significance for a defeated generation is abundantly attested by the wide-spread preoccupation with his personality, real and symbolic, as reflected in the number and popularity of plays, films, prose works and histories concerning him.¹⁵⁴ To a greater degree than any of the heroes under consideration did the contemplation of his life and deeds serve as an antidote to defeatism and as a means of reviving, by the process of psychological compensation, confidence in a national glory that would survive its present tarnishment.

This influence of Frederick the Great is definitely alive even in a number of plays which are devoted chiefly to other military heroes. The references to him vary from natural, incidental

¹⁵³ This is well explained by Ernst Lemke, "Friedrich der Grosse im deutschen Drama der Gegenwart," *Elsner*, III, (1931), 7-60.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, or Dietz, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-65, who repeats the substance of Lemke's more detailed treatment.

echoes of his fame to such repeated emphases on his personality as to make him an active, though invisible, participant in the plot. The purely incidental allusions are to be found in plays of each category.

Some dramas contain references which, though unessential to the central fable, reveal the special significance of Frederick the Great for the defeated Germany of 1806-13 and, by analogy, for the defeated Germany of the present. Thus at the Volkskunst level the Schill of Rosikat's *Der deutsche Reiter* invokes the immortal name of Fridericus in his appeal to the citizens of a Westphalian town to forsake their technical allegiance to Napoleon and to support his cause as the common cause of Germany:

Volk ohne Trotz!

Beugst Du Dich einem welschen Haremskönig in Kassel? Errötest Du nicht vor Deinen Vätern, die sich um einen Fridericus scharten?¹⁵⁵

A passage from *Schicksal um Yorck* reflects the general reverence for Frederick's personality which persisted despite ungracious, forbidding features of his character. Yorck, in response to the remark of his adjutant Seydlitz, "Wir sehen alle nur auf den grossen Friedrich," complains bitterly of the ill-treatment both he and his father had received from him. Seydlitz observes, however, with undoubted truth: "Exzellenz verehren ihn dennoch."¹⁵⁶ The counterpart of this attitude among the simple soldier-folk of Frederick's army is excellently illustrated in an anecdotal sketch by Paul Ernst, *Der grosse König*.¹⁵⁷

In the outstanding play by Goetz the aging Field Marshal Möllendorf serves as a living reminder to the staff of the hapless Frederick William III of the proud past of the old Prussia under his master Frederick the Great. The longing of post-Versailles as well as post-Tilsit Germany is made articulate in Möllendorf's speech:

... Aber ich kannte einen preussischen König, Friedrich den anderen seines Namens, der wusste, was er wollte.¹⁵⁸

In the final scene of the play the old warrior gives Gneisenau, as

¹⁵⁵ Pt. II, scene 2, p. 45; the whole appeal is read to the crowd by a soldier of Schill.

¹⁵⁶ III. xi., p. 54.

¹⁵⁷ In the collection, *Zehn Geschichten* (Munich: Langen-Müller).

¹⁵⁸ I. iii., p. 47.

the real victor and savior, the symbolic blessing of his immortal master:

... du meines Königs Liebling! ... Dies hab' ich nun erlebt. Der grosse Friedrich hat mich am Ohr gezupft, und ich hab' Gneisenau geküsst.¹⁵⁹

In the two Louis Ferdinand plays, finally, Frederick the Great's invisible rôle assumes real importance and is indispensable to the plot. For in both the prince is represented as heir by right of nature to the genius of his famous uncle. Further, he is conscious of his heritage and is tempted to assert in a time of national crisis the superiority of his natural right to the actual king's legal power. The temptation, largely formal in Schwarz' version, is very serious in the play by Unruh where the prince has to resist an actual offer of the crown. In the former, Louis Ferdinand himself gives clear emphasis to his heritage in the following words:

... Ich habe nicht die Ehre, morgen die Armee zu führen. Der grosse König würde vielleicht sonst anders unter uns lebendig sein. ...¹⁶⁰

... Nein, Wedel, keine Liebesgeständnisse! Sonst entschlüpft Ihnen noch 'mein König,' und dafür müsste ich Sie am Abend vor der Schlacht verhaften! Was ich bin, das wollen wir nie unter uns aussprechen, solange ich lebe. Und wenn ich tot bin, sollt Ihr erst recht darüber schweigen.¹⁶¹

In Unruh's drama the spiritual relationship and even personal resemblance between the prince and Frederick the Great are effectively suggested by third persons. Thus the Prince of Orange, indicating a portrait of the great Frederick, asks the king: "Sind es nicht Prinz Ferdinands Augen? Nicht wahr?—Ist Dir nicht wohl?"¹⁶² In the fourth act Hohenlohe relates to the other conspirators that Frederick on his deathbed had wanted to see Louis Ferdinand and had called him the "Lieblingssohn des Mars."¹⁶³

The intimate relation of Frederick the Great to these tragedies clearly indicates that, for author and audience, his spirit is alive in them. We thus find him serving his function as the

¹⁵⁹ V. v., p. 243.

¹⁶⁰ VII, p. 178.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹⁶² II. i., p. 61.

¹⁶³ IV. i., p. 110.

nation's super-hero even in plays demonstrating the heroism of others. This is borne out further by references, too numerous to detail, which recall or emphasize his spiritual force. Not only is the scene of the whole second act of Schwarz' play laid before Frederick II's tomb, but he is the subject and to a certain extent the cause of much of the dialogue in this act. And in *Unruh's* drama even the portrait of him in the cabinet of Frederick William III has an important part in guiding the course of the whole scene. Here his irresolute, hard-pressed successor is directly confronted with him and pleads (to the picture): "... Grosser König, im Kriege gross, ist es meine Schuld, dass ich die Krone nach Ihnen trage?"¹⁶⁴ In both plays, of course, the actual hero, Louis Ferdinand, is the hope of all those who are disgusted with the wavering policy of the weak king and who long for a resolute leader with the invincible spirit of Frederick II.

The Adoration of Queen Louise

The Prussian cult of masculinity left comparatively little room for national heroines approaching great men in stature such as emerge from the pages of French and English history. The Napoleonic period, however, did produce the outstanding exception of Frederick William III's wife Louise.¹⁶⁵ She was adored by her people during her lifetime and tradition has so idealized her personality that as an object of national pride, respect, and worship she is an important (although not equal) feminine complement to Frederick the Great; and the radius of her influence is greater than that of any of the military heroes with whom we are concerned. Although Louise did actively interest herself in politics at times and had a not inconsiderable influence on her vacillating husband, she was not primarily a political figure nor is she revered as such. Thoroughly feminine, she lives in the hearts of the German people as the ideal wife and mother whose courage, nobility, and sympathy with her subjects in a time of great national adversity perfected her character as a queen. The indignities she suffered at the hands of Napoleon were of a nature to bring into further relief the nobility and fine-

¹⁶⁴ II. i., p. 60.

¹⁶⁵ Princess Louise of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, b. 1776

ness of her character, and her premature death in 1810 made her seem a martyr to the cause of Prussian liberty.

As the most idealized woman of modern German history Queen Louise has naturally been the object of considerable literary attention. The interest in her did not abate during the period of the Republic when she was the subject of various prose works, a double-drama (depicting her as crown princess and then as queen) performed on a major stage,¹⁶⁶ and at least three plays written for the amateur stage.¹⁶⁷ These last indicate the strength of the sentimental attachment to her among the simpler classes.

The references to Queen Louise in the plays of our group are sufficient and varied enough to give a clear reflection of the position she occupies as a national heroine. They are with but one exception confined to the Schill and Louis Ferdinand plays, the action of which occurred within her lifetime.¹⁶⁸ Her prominent rôle in the latter plays, the only ones in which she appears in person, has already been indicated. Informative references to her occur in five of the seven Schill plays representing four categories of the pyramid.

The chief source of Louise's hold on popular affection is her deep feeling for her people. The queen expresses this herself with dignified restraint in Unruh's drama,¹⁶⁹ which gives us, moreover, an effective idealization of her as wife, mother, woman, and queen, partly through the eyes of the infatuated prince. In Schwarz' play, which supplies a more naturally human, if less impressive portrait, she is moved to tears as she thinks of the death awaiting the soldiers passing her in review. In three of the Schill dramas, however, this emotional hero and his associates can imagine their queen only as manifesting her feeling in periodic weeping spells, and her genuine sentiment becomes lachrymose sentimentality. One of Schill's officers in Kayser's

¹⁶⁶ Cf. App. II, nos. 40, 41. Of interest, too, is the formation of the *Königin Luise-Bund* in 1923 as a sort of women's auxiliary to the veterans organization, *Stahlhelm*.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. App. II, nos. 27, 37, 80.

¹⁶⁸ The exception, Kaibel's *Hochverrat*, introduces the only discordant note in the chorus of adulation. Yorck expresses his contempt for the "Weiberwirtschaft" that prevailed when Queen Louise was alive (I. xi., p. 57).

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 92.

lowly piece (*Die elf Schillschen Offiziere*) tries to stimulate the emotions of all by rehearsing:

Wer zählt die Tränen, welche die gute Königin Luise vergossen hat?
Welches Preussenherz dreht sich nicht um in der Brust ob der vergeblichen
Bitten, die sie an den stolzen Korsen gestellt hat?¹⁷⁰

Brauny's *Heldengedicht* introduces a touching picture of the queen weeping for Schill,¹⁷¹ and Buchhorn's stage play is surfeited with hysterically sentimental outbursts about the poor, exiled queen who weeps for her people, who are her children.¹⁷² As a matter of fact this play represents the worship of Louise as having become a cult among the soldiers and reminds one of the lady cult of the Arthurian romances. "Jede Träne dieser Frau," says another of Schill's officers here, "netzt unseren Hass . . . und: lässt ihn in die Reife schiessen . . ."¹⁷³ The pivotal rôle which this motif plays in this drama has been previously explained.

Schwarz' *Prinz von Preussen* offers a more satisfying picture of Louise. Dressed in the uniform of her regiment she reviews the troops about to enter the field against Napoleon, waving to them unceasingly and even letting her emotions move her to shout encouragement.¹⁷⁴ In the Schill plays of *Rosikat* and *Buchhorn* her gracious concern for Prussia's heroic soldiery is evident by reference to a letter-case presented by her to Schill in recognition of the brave exploits of him and his men in defense of Kolberg.¹⁷⁵ In the former play Schill invokes Louise's power to inspire Prussian soldiers by using this letter-case as a sacred object to swear by:

Schill (hebt die Brieftasche): Kameraden, schwört auf dieses Huldzeichen der erhabensten Frau: Seid Ihr bereit, zu kämpfen und zu sterben?¹⁷⁶

And the soldiers swear. An indication of admiration for the queen even on the part of the soldier-to-be is contained in

¹⁷⁰ I. v., p. 11.

¹⁷¹ I. viii., p. 16.

¹⁷² II. i., p. 40.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁷⁴ VI, pp. 153ff.

¹⁷⁵ *Schill* (Buchhorn), I, p. 26; *Der deutsche Reiter* (Rosikat), I. iv., p. 31.

¹⁷⁶ I. iv., p. 31.

Schwarz' play, where a young applicant tells Louis Ferdinand that his greatest desire is to be an ensign in the Queen's Own regiment.¹⁷⁷

The unlimited capacity of Louise's personality for evoking sentimental response from her soldiers and subjects is in strong contrast to her husband's almost total lack of inspirational qualities. Whether Frederick William III had genuine sympathy with his subjects or not, he never showed it effectively and several passages from the plays reveal the striking difference between the citizens' distrust and even antagonism toward their king and their great affection for and trust in their queen.

The crassest expression is in the first act of Klimsch' play where an officer of Schill shouts: "Es lebe unsre mutige Königin Luise! Und den König hol' der Teufel!"¹⁷⁸ Similar sentiments are pronounced by a citizen in the crowd at Wesel in the last act of the same play.¹⁷⁹ Louis Ferdinand in Schwarz' drama is scarcely less emphatic when he says: "Die Frau hat Ehre im Leib, aber der Mann hat keine Ehre!"¹⁸⁰

An interesting parallel showing how greatly superior the bond was between subject and queen is offered by the dramas of Buchhorn and Rosikat. In both Schill is only temporarily upset by the news of the king's repudiation but he simply cannot believe that Queen Louise has deserted him. In the former play the distraught hero insists that she abstained from the disavowal;¹⁸¹ in the latter, where an emissary brings him a request from the queen that he return the letter-case and he is confronted with her repudiation of him in black and white he is overcome but recovers to assert vehemently his belief that she had been forced into the action by people at court and that in her heart she is not against him.¹⁸² Finally, leaving the king out of the comparison, Schwarz' play contains the inference that Queen Louise had captured the hearts of the Berlin populace so completely that even the soldiers ready to fight for them took second

¹⁷⁷ III, p. 91.

¹⁷⁸ I, p. 12.

¹⁷⁹ V, p. 70.

¹⁸⁰ III, p. 101.

¹⁸¹ III, p. 90.

¹⁸² III, i., pp. 60-61.

place. In act six Prince Louis Ferdinand, coming to take leave, remarks to her: "Das Volk hat bei der Parade mehr zu Ihnen als zu uns hinübergeblickt."¹⁸³

As with Frederick the Great, then, although to a lesser degree and by distinctly feminine virtues, the personality of Queen Louise continues to inspire the German people with sentiment that is strong and independent, even when they are preoccupied with the contemplation of the other heroes. In closing it may be pertinent to suggest that the invocation of her spirit in these and other post-war plays is very likely to have involuntarily recalled, at times at least, the last queen of Prussia and empress of Germany, Auguste Viktoria. There is far more than a suggestion of similarity between the fates and characters of the two queens even though the latter's modest life will remain a respected memory but not an ideal.¹⁸⁴ Like Louise, Auguste Viktoria was a model wife and mother, a loyal comrade to a ruler who had little luck with other personal friendships. She devoted much time and effort to welfare work with the under-privileged classes and was unsparing with her attentions to wounded soldiers during the war. Again like Louise, she exhibited a sympathy and understanding for the people which her husband lacked and was correspondingly more appreciated by them.¹⁸⁵ Finally, the last years of both were lived in a period of national catastrophe and both died in exile.

The "Schandpakt" Parallel

The outstanding impulse of Germany's history since the World War has been her impassioned opposition to the Versailles Treaty. The unanimity of this opposition obliterated all party lines. It ran the gamut of negative emotions from sullen resentment to passionate hate, assumed every imaginable form from mental rejection through passive resistance to a myriad of petty and major circumventions and to innumerable violations or attempts

¹⁸³ VI, p. 163.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. art., "Auguste Viktoria," by A. O. Meyer in *Deutsches Biographisches Jahrbuch* for 1921, pp. 11-13, (Stgt: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1927). Titles of recent biographies are appended thereto.

¹⁸⁵ This was clearly reflected by the general resentment in Germany to the ex-Kaiser's second marriage in 1922.

at violation, guarded or open. The treaty, the symbol of a defeat in which the Germans tried hard not to believe, together with its provisions, the enforcement of which made their helplessness a bitter reality, was so incessantly emphasized as the *bête noire* of national existence that the agitation for its nullification or revision finally became a permanent national preoccupation. This is borne out eloquently by the fact that the party which throughout the first post-war decade kept up a frenzied agitation against the treaty and advocated open repudiation is now supreme in Germany and has been enthusiastically supported in its defiant abrogation of many treaty provisions.

The theatre as always was an important medium for fanning public resentment; and a whole group of plays appeared that dealt with the injuries and injustices suffered by the fractional minority of Germans residing in those sections directly affected by the territorial terms of the treaty, and that were designed to make the unaffected majority more conscious of the clutches of the *bête noire*.¹⁸⁶ We find Lampel and Kyser paying attention to this contemporary patriotic theme too: the former with his *Vaterland* (1931), and the latter with *Es brennt an der Grenze* (1931).

Although the plays under survey are in general preoccupied with engendering positive rather than negative patriotic fervor, the Peace of Tilsit (1807) offers such a perfect parallel to the hated Versailles Treaty that the frequent denunciatory references to the former do perforce nourish resentment to the latter. They reflect alike the utter humiliation of Prussia in 1807 and of Prussian-led Germany in 1919 which resulted from treaties with such similar conditions as: expropriation of territory, military occupation, enormous indemnities, sharp limitation of military strength, governmental supervision by a foreign power (French authorities in 1807, the Allied Military Control Commission and the Reparations Commission in 1919).

All three plays at the Volkskunst level speak of the "Schandfrieden" or "schmachvollen Frieden" with and without the specific designation, "von Tilsit," and the familiar descriptive word "Skla-venketten" is not missing.¹⁸⁷ Each of the artistically presumptuous closet plays also contains at least one such allusion. The opening note of *Vor der Zeit* (Solms) is the familiar reparations complaint:

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *Elsner*, V (1933), 25, for a short list of these plays.

¹⁸⁷ Scheffler's *Graf Yorck von Wartenburg*, II. xxv., p. 42.

"Vom Hundert des Gewinns siebzig dem Staate,/Damit der Staat davon den Feind besolde!"¹⁸⁸ The same play expresses the sentiment often applied to the Versailles Treaty, "Dieser Friede/Ist schlimmer noch, als Krieg!"¹⁸⁹ and Friedenburg in Klimsch' *Die Schillschen* speaks of "... diesem Nachkrieg und Vorkrieg, dieser üblen Zwischenzeit . . ." ¹⁹⁰ In Brauny's *Schill* an officer proclaims: "Wir brauchen einen Frieden nicht zu achten,/Der uns gewaltsam aufgezwungen ward."¹⁹¹

The comments are fullest and most prominent, however, in the group of mediocre stage plays, the dramas of Leyst and Schäfer excepted, which do not mention the treaty. Lampel's bald misuse of the parallel in his *Putsch* has been sufficiently indicated. Kaibel's *Hochverrat*, already quoted in this regard,¹⁹² antedates the Versailles Treaty by a few months but it is apparent that the terms of the armistice were foreboding enough for the author whose concern with the present was so strong. It is interesting to reflect, further, that his direct mention of an "abscheulichen Sklavenpakt" had acquired painfully real significance for those before whom the play was performed in 1923, after the treaty had been in effect some time and when the Ruhr struggle was in progress.

The first scene of Buchhorn's *Schill* is largely concerned with the reactions of Berlin society to Tilsit and contains numerous phrases that fit as perfectly the mentality of post-Versailles Germany. Thus the remarks by von Chazot, the commandant of Berlin:

v. Chazot: . . . Da hängt eine Karte—die weist die Grenzen, in die wir seit Tilsit gepresst sind. . . .

. . . haben Frau Gräfin einmal einen Blick auf diese Karte getan?! einmal aus ihr all unser Elend abgelesen? unseren Jammer? unsere Schmach?!

. . . Krieg nach dem Frieden. . . .

. . . Bedingungen, so drückend, dass sie nicht erfüllt werden können. Infolgedessen: neue Bedingungen . . . schlimmere als zuvor . . . Die erst recht nicht erfüllt werden können. . . .

. . . Wo ist die Räumung?!¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ I. i., p. 1.

¹⁸⁹ V. i., p. 85.

¹⁹⁰ V., p. 82.

¹⁹¹ V. iv., p. 76.

¹⁹² *Supra*, p. 33.

¹⁹³ Excerpts from speeches by v. Chazot, I. i., pp. 15-20.

The treaty denunciations in *Schicksal um Yorck* are still more vigorous in tone. It is the fourth play which states or implies that the treaty was not an instrument of peace but of war. In the opening scene the East Prussian official Schultz indignantly exclaims:

Das ist wohl kein Friedensvertrag, der ein Land sinnlos zerstückt, ein Volk wehrlos macht, um es bis zum letzten auszupressen.¹⁹⁴

In the third act Clausewitz explodes with:

Wir haben einen Krieg verloren. Man hat uns einen Unterwerfungsvertrag mit Gewalt aufgezwungen . . . Man hat uns Provinzen entrissen, durch die noch unser Blut fortströmt . . . Man hat uns entrechtet, entehrt und gedemütigt wie kein Volk der Erde. . . .¹⁹⁵

The following passage echoes the loud disavowal made by many Germans of their representatives who signed the Versailles "Diktat":

Yorck: Sie (i.e., treaties) müssen also genau gehalten werden.

Kleist: Soweit sie nicht zur eigenen Vernichtung führen.

Yorck: *Dann unterschreibt man sie nicht.* . . .¹⁹⁶

Although the action in the Louis Ferdinand plays preceded the date of the Peace of Tilsit each contains a vehement protest against another treaty—the one negotiated by Haugwitz with Napoleon and ratified by the king in February, 1806. In view of the recognized hyper-sensitiveness of the post-war generation to the treaty bugaboo undoubtedly these references, by their phrasing, were involuntarily associated in the minds of the people attending these plays with the Versailles Treaty. The prince in Schwarz' play demands: "Der Pariser Vertrag muss gebrochen werden!"¹⁹⁷ And in Unruh's play he questions the king concerning the "schändliche Friedenspakt."¹⁹⁸

In striking contrast to the vociferous attention given to the Peace of Tilsit in the lower groups, the three plays of highest rank which might logically contain references to it (those of Goetz, Lis-sauer, and Ernst) do not mention it directly, nor does the playlet for the amateur stage written by the reputable author Lienhard. The illustrative quotations make it evident that the authors of lesser

¹⁹⁴ I. i., p. 7.

¹⁹⁵ III. ix., p. 50.

¹⁹⁶ I. vi., p. 18. Italics are mine.

¹⁹⁷ I, p. 42.

¹⁹⁸ II. i., p. 56.

genius were the ones intent upon exploiting the convenient parallels of political circumstance and mental attitude.

Attitude toward France and the French

Documents such as the peace treaties just discussed are of course not the final objects of emotions. Intense indignation, dislike, rage, and hate are more naturally directed toward the persons responsible for such treaties, toward those who are individually and collectively engaged in making their unbearable provisions felt. In both historical periods the French were the chief cause of all these bitter emotions in the hearts of the German people. Although France in 1919 was not Germany's sole victorious enemy and was only one of many parties to the obnoxious treaty, she remained the most cordially hated. Her position as traditional archenemy was reinforced by the conviction that her desire for revenge had been largely responsible for the most humiliating and oppressive conditions of peace; and later the Ruhr occupation showed that she was the only great power seriously intent upon enforcing these conditions to the letter.

The inimical relation of 1806-15, which could not fail to find its analogue among a German audience of the present, is naturally prominent in all the hero plays, either as a main feature of the historical situation or as an active element in the plot. And every play therefore nourishes this practically universal anti-French feeling, though in varying manner and measure. It will be profitable to observe in what different ways the individual dramas and separate groups supplied this acrid aliment.

The general observation may be made that the aesthetically significant plays, even though they contain forceful expressions of deep-felt, anti-French sentiment, are notably free from deliberate, hate-arousing stimuli. That unpleasant element is found, with some welcome exceptions, liberally sprinkled throughout the propaganda plays, but the worst offenders prove to be the authors of closet dramas. These distinctions will be clarified by a survey of typical categories of anti-French expression.

Comments on the afflictions attending military occupation offer the best opportunity for drawing attention to post-war parallels and are common to the majority of the plays. The strongest phrasing of this hatred engendered by French be-

havior that the highest group contains is in Goetz' play, where Gneisenau, arguing against any merciful treatment of the helpless remnants of the Grande Armée, says:

Wenn aber die Wehrlosen jenen Edlen (i.e., the Prussians) fast zehn Jahre mit dem Stiefelabsatz in der Fresse herumbohren, so will mir scheinen—. ¹⁹⁹

But this is an isolated instance. In Lissauer's play, Yorck's wife Johanna speaks simply but feelingly of the "Lasten der Einquartierung," ²⁰⁰ and his East Prussian orderly Lobes is appealingly matter-of-fact in testifying that occupation by the French or Russians is equally bad:

... Na und heut, da drückt und saugt der Franzose, dass man sich fast nach den Russen sehnt. ²⁰¹

Leyst's history lesson in drama form, *Gneisenau und Napoleon*, offers only a few scattered phrases on this theme and, surprisingly enough, the plays of Buchhorn and Schwarz, who have shown proclivities for exploiting other parallels, have no direct references to this one. The remaining plays in their group, however, expand the subject and introduce a marked propagandistic note.

Schicksal um Yorck (Kyser), for instance, presents in the opening scene a French army official insisting upon the delivery of supplies in almost impossible amounts and the requisitions enumerated are rather vividly reminiscent of post-armistice conditions. In *Der 18. Oktober* Schäfer lets his enterprising and agitated student-volunteer Fabricius recite as his own a fairly comprehensive résumé of the oppressive features of French occupation and control which he has conveniently borrowed from the propagandist Gentz:

Kein Schiff läuft in eure Häfen ein, kein Frachtwagen fährt über eure Grenze, ohne dass fremde Zöllner euch die Früchte eurer Arbeit abpressen. Kein Taler fließt in euren Staatsschatz, ohne dass fremde Habgier berechnet, wie viel Groschen sie euch davon noch eben lassen soll. Französische Generäle, französische Zöllner, französische Beamte fressen sich voll aus der Mühsal eurer Arbeit. Das ist Deutschland in seiner tiefsten Erniedrigung.

¹⁹⁹ I. v., p. 66.

²⁰⁰ I, p. 21.

²⁰¹ III, p. 48.

Das war es schon, als ein Mann wie Palm für dieses Wort sein Blut vergiessen musste.²⁰²

Outdoing Gentz the student continues, addressing the French general, Delarède:

Was haben Sie aus Deutschland gemacht, Herr General! Ein Menschenmagazin für Frankreich. Ein geschundenes Tier, das Sie noch aussaugen, wenn schon Blut statt Milch aus seinen Brüsten fließt. . . .²⁰³

It is obvious that with few modifications these bitter attacks apply equally well to the agitated state of German opinion during the first post-war years, particularly during the Ruhr crisis. It seems also obvious that such passages in a play of 1932 origin and 1932-34 popularity were designed to reawaken the memory of the oppression that had ceased several years before and thus rake the smoldering fire of negative nationalistic emotions.

Descending lower in the scale we come to two closet dramas which specialize in the portrayal of alleged brutalities of French military occupation. The quartering of French soldiers on a certain family is an important circumstance running through Solm's *Vor der Zeit* and also forms the chief substance of the first two acts of Klimsch' *Die Schillschen*. This theme is used for the promulgation of hate-stirring propaganda of the crudest sort. To specific complaints of the kind provided by the preceding group these authors add examples of actual physical brutality ranging from the ludicrously typical to the morbidly disgusting. In each play a German resisting French quartering officers is killed, a German woman is tortured to the utmost to yield to the lust of a French officer as payment for sparing the man's life. In Klimsch' play, where the distorted caricatures of French behavior are at least the equal of any Allied stories of German atrocities during the World War, we are treated to an awful travesty on the Tosca situation. The prize French beast of Klimsch' imagination, Lieutenant Moulin, cries out, to the edification of the woman he wants to rape: "Schlagt nebenan den Hund in Stücke, reißt mit Lederzeug den Leib in tausend Fetzen!"²⁰⁴ Then one hears off-stage "die Schläge unbarmherzig klatschen und ein entsetzliches Stöhnen und Aufbrüllen."²⁰⁴

²⁰² II, p. 39; taken from Gentz' "Rede an die Fürsten," 1813.

²⁰³ II, p. 39.

²⁰⁴ II, p. 28.

None of the other plays is quite so offensive but several contribute further examples of brutality toward German men. The cruel Frenchman with the whip seems to be a favorite type. He appears in the closet plays of Solms and Rosikat and in the stage play by Kyser. The caricature in the play by the dilettante Rosikat is such a laughable stereotype that it is worth quoting in contracted form:

Stimme des Leutnants: Kujon! Barbar! Kanaille!

Eleonore: Sieh doch! Sie peitschen unsere Fuhrknechte statt die Pferde!

Stimme des Fuhrmanns: Halten zu Gnaden—

Stimme des Leutnants: Da hat er meine Gnade! und da noch einmal!²⁰⁵

A moment later the cruel lieutenant appears before the ladies as a typical French gallant exhibiting his charms.²⁰⁵ Brauny's French villain Mestrom lacks the whip but makes up for it by being presented to the German reader uttering, as he stands with one foot on the body of the dying Schill, preposterous bombast about the greatness of France and the eclipse of Germany.²⁰⁶ Although Lienhard's sketch for the amateur stage also treats an unpleasant episode of French occupation, it is acceptable propaganda that does not descend to the level of the above illustrations.

Teaching hatred through scenes of cruelty to men is amply supplemented by instances of the mistreatment of German women by French officers of the hackneyed type who, of course, wouldn't be French if they weren't lustful. The type of incident has been clearly suggested for the plays of Solms and Klimsch. The whole second act of *Die Schillschen* is filled with exceedingly obscene propaganda around this theme. Klimsch expands his distortion of French bestiality and cruelty in terms so impossibly filthy that they cannot be quoted. However, the really precious example he offers of the moronic conception one nation has of another must not be omitted. In the first act Lieutenant Moulin, upon entering the house to commandeer it as his colonel's quarters, says: "Was hängen dort für Bilder? Weg damit!"²⁰⁷ The clarification comes in the following note prefaced

²⁰⁵ I. i., pp. 9-11.

²⁰⁶ V. viii., p. 87.

²⁰⁷ I, p. 16.

to the second act: "Dasselbe Zimmer im Hause Heins; statt der vaterländischen Gemälde Bilder nackter Frauenkörper."²⁰⁸

Three other plays refer to the mistreatment of German women, but without emphasis. They are the dilettante play on the Yorck theme by Scheffler and the stage plays of Kaibel and Leyst.

Incidental to the above are a few interesting passages that introduce a direct, true, and unexaggerated parallel to a social attitude that prevailed in the Rhineland during the years it was an occupied territory. This is the ostracism of French officers (and soldiers) and of any German girls associating with them. Thus we find Yorck's daughter Bertha, in Lissauer's play, saying to her mother: "Wir sollten das nicht dulden, dass das Mädchen mit einem Franzosen liebelt."²⁰⁹ This remark must have reëchoed with particular vividness in the minds of the theatre-goers of Cologne who saw the play in 1928. The heroine Ludovika in Scheffler's *Graf Yorck von Wartenburg* is admittedly attracted to one of the few gentlemanly Frenchmen introduced in any of the plays, Captain Viscount Ternois,²¹⁰ but she tells him:

. . . Unerträglich ist mir der Gedanke, dass ein deutsches Mädchen einen Ehebund eingehen kann mit einem Sohn des Volkes, das das unsrige geknechtet, geschändet, vergewaltigt hat.²¹¹

An outburst on this theme in Klimsch' play is scarcely quotable.²¹²

The panderers to hate cannot be expected to omit cries for its natural sequel, revenge. All manner of vindictive ebullience could be quoted ad nauseam from the closet dramas (Scheffler's excepted), ranging from the nonsensical fustian provided by Rosikat and Brauny to the insensate outpourings of Solms and Klimsch. Among the mediocre stage plays Kyser's *Schicksal um Yorck* emphasizes this desire. In fact this is the only play which contains a scene showing revenge actually being satisfied on a Frenchman. The French commissary officer referred to above, who has the upper hand when the play opens, appears in the last

²⁰⁸ II, p. 19.

²⁰⁹ I, p. 20.

²¹⁰ Marshal Macdonald is also treated with some favor.

²¹¹ II. iii., p. 20.

²¹² I, p. 32.

act as a miserable, wheedling straggler from the Grand Army who is subjected to the grossest insults, whipped and finally stabbed by a young peasant mad with revenge.²¹³ It is only fair to suppose, however, that Kyser's depiction of the Frenchman's cruel suffering at the hands of a frenzied German peasant would awaken in the normal person at least as strong sympathy for the former as it would pleasure from the satisfaction of hatred. The witnesses in the play itself reveal strongly divergent emotions.

An entirely different and more humane atmosphere pervades the highest group. In Unruh's *Louis Ferdinand* there are numerous vehement expressions of anti-French sentiment but they result from a spirit of genuine patriotic enthusiasm entirely free from personal rancor. Thus an outburst like the following by Berlin citizenry stimulates enthusiasm but not hate and leaves no bad taste in the mouth:

Bürger: Zum König! Zum Prinzen Ferdinand! Zerreißt alle Franzosen!²¹⁴

The same play indeed contains a speech by the queen strongly censoring, by implication, one-sided anti-French propaganda and encouraging utmost fairness:

Königin: Gegen Frankreich habe ich so wenig wie gegen irgendein anderes Land, aber wie ich meine Kinder vor allen fremden zärtlicher liebe, so sind mir meine Brandenburger, meine Preussen inniger ans Herz gewachsen....²¹⁵

In the *Louis Ferdinand* play of minor significance by Schwarz there is a speech by Stein in which he surpasses the idealism of the queen. It is quoted here because, coming from the mouth of a German, its suspiciously Wilsonian phraseology makes it an amazing anomaly:

... Das ist ein heiliger Krieg, an dem sich eines Tages alle Völker beteiligen werden! Wir haben keine Feindschaft gegen die französische Nation! Wir wollen keine Handbreit französischen Bodens erobern! Wir wollen Frankreich von seinem Zwingherrn befreien, der die französischen Mütter immer von neuem quält, ihre Söhne auf die Schlachtbank zu schicken!²¹⁶

The Yorck plays of Lissauer and Paul Ernst contain pa-

²¹³ V. ii-iii., pp. 72-74.

²¹⁴ I. iv., p. 51.

²¹⁵ III. i., p. 86.

²¹⁶ V, p. 143.

thetic descriptions of the plight of the French soldiers fleeing from Russia which call forth spontaneous and unadulterated sympathy with human misery and which refuse even to suggest indulgence in malicious gloating.²¹⁷

Expressions of the often asserted inferiority of the French as a nation are not prominent in these plays but the two clearest examples are worth brief attention. They occur, curiously, in works which represent the poles of ethical standard in patriotic drama: Klimsch' *Die Schillschen* and Paul Ernst's *Yorck*. In the former we find the following lines which reflect the opinion held or at least professed by many Germans:

Ja, Krieg ist ewig! Doch es kommt die Zeit,
da zwischen uns ein Krieg nicht mehr entscheidet.
Das ist, wenn ein Geschlecht sich morsch gemacht,
so morsch, dass durch die Unersättlichkeit
des spätern Volkes Lebensbaum verkümmert,
Dann stürzen friedlich wir den Stamm mit Händen. . . .²¹⁸

In Paul Ernst's play *Yorck*, although wisely self-critical, does not hesitate to proclaim the Prussians "das beste Volk," and to designate the French as the "Schlechtern" and "Gerin-gern";²¹⁹ and this belief in Teutonic superiority is generalized, we have seen, in his speech containing the words, "Wir sind das Salz der Erde."²²⁰ In the third act Ernst inserts a scene free from all hate-stimuli but nevertheless designed to encourage this belief by revealing the French as a morally inferior race. He presents a number of French officers who in their conversation expose the prevalence among themselves and their comrades of uncomplimentary attributes of character such as: disloyal scheming; bravery motivated by promise of money reward and advancement rather than by love of country; and, of course, excessive amorousness.²²¹ Opposed to them in the play are stern, puritanical, eminently brave Prussians who are supremely loyal and selfless in their devotion to their country and who never permit allusions to the pleasures of feminine company to cross their lips.

²¹⁷ Cf. Lissauer's *Yorck*, II, pp. 49-51; Ernst's *Yorck* III. ii., pp. 31-33.

²¹⁸ II, p. 52.

²¹⁹ I, p. 12.

²²⁰ *Supra*, p. 37.

²²¹ III. ii., pp. 27ff.

One might properly point out that Ernst, in his eagerness to present his countrymen in shining moral armor, has been considerably less than fair in choosing to contrast a group of victory-drunk, morally lax, over-confident Frenchmen with the hard-pressed, victory-starved representatives of impoverished, half-subjugated Prussia whose moral fibre had been stiffened by stubborn, resolute resistance to the rightly abhorred foreign yoke.²²² Frenchmen defending their own home and soil would present a different picture, as would a group of inflated, victory-drunk German officers of 1870-71 or 1914.

It is of real interest to note that the two plays concentrating in blatant and crude anti-French propaganda, those of Klimsch and Solms, are both products of the year 1923 when the occupation of the Ruhr by force roused the intensity of anti-French feeling to a high pitch and welded all factions in Germany, from the extreme left to the extreme right, into a desperate but remarkably united front against France that temporarily superseded the bitterness of their domestic strife.²²³ The publication of these plays in that year is, then, no coincidence; but it can scarcely be accepted as an extenuating circumstance, for both authors, as explained, make presumptions to some individuality of poetic style and, by implication, to genuine poetical effect. Klimsch, indeed, has since succeeded in getting several plays staged,²²⁴ and has recently stepped forward as an arbiter of distinctions between the dramatic poet with a cultural mission and the ordinary playwright, whereby he identifies himself with the former.²²⁵

The significance of these authors as representatives of presumptive "art" of middle-class origin explains moreover why full attention has been given to the unpleasant crudities of their work and why they have not been dismissed briefly as regrettable exceptions unworthy of further mention. The effusions of Klimsch,

²²² It is a pleasure to find a German reviewer who makes the same criticism; cf., W. v. Schröder, "Yorck," *Elsner*, VI (1934), 158.

²²³ Cf. Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, chap. vii; Mowrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.

²²⁴ *Der Toten Heimkehr* (1929), *Hutten* (1933), and *Kleists Tod* (1933).

²²⁵ Uli Klimsch, "Kampf und Not der dramat. Dichter," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 19, 1935; abstract thereof available in *Elsner*, Vol. VII (1935).

to take the worst, are symptomatic of a mentality which is unfortunately international in its prevalence among the middle classes and by no means reserved to the ignorant masses where it may be expected and partially pardoned. Such crudity and venom, indeed, could scarcely be equalled, let alone surpassed, at the lowest level of Volkskunst. Their presence would destroy no illusion in the patriotic plays turned out by publishers' hackmen to supply the amateur stage of the provinces. Our representative of this type, *Die elf Schillschen Offiziere* (Kayser), although in thought-content and expression of a primitive simplicity that would make it understandable to a ten-year-old child, is relatively modest and hardly offensive in its anti-French animus. The French general Gratien, indeed, is allowed to pay a qualified tribute to the dead Schill:

Offizier: Der Schill!

Gratien: Il était un héros! Er war ein Held! (Kühl links ab).²²⁶

Sober reflection on the almost universal credulence given atrocity stories during the World War by both sides yields the conviction that the so-called enlightenment of the educated middle classes is at the most skin-deep and that it is genuine only with a noble fraction. It is thus clear that the works of Klimsch and Solms are not incidental, but complementary, to the general phenomenological picture of patriotic drama in post-war Germany.

Common Soldier Scenes and Sentiment

Since life as a soldier under the tremendous physical and psychological pressures of wartime service had been the only reality for the great majority of German men from 1914-18, and since the whole nation had been absorbed in anxious sympathy with their lot, this almost universal experience necessarily permeated the national consciousness of the post-war era. It is self-evident, too, that scenes and sentiments reminiscent of this deep experience would unfailingly touch chords of emotional response in every German audience irrespective of any or all divergencies, social, political, provincial, intellectual. The dramatic author according to his ability could introduce this element and be con-

²²⁶ III. xi., p. 32.

fidest of its appeal whether he made it incidental, contributory, or vital to his main purpose. Although there was no lack of World-War plays,²²⁷ the proven popularity of more distant historical dramas shows that the spectator often welcomed the greater objectivisation of his own experiences which the latter afforded.

Again we find that the parallels offered by the period 1806-15 proved attractive to both the dramatist and his public. First of all this period saw the creation, under the aegis of Stein, Scharnhorst, and Gneisenau, of the first truly national Germany (here Prussian) army, whose tradition the twentieth-century Germans had inherited and whose spirit of heroic sacrifice they had recently emulated. And the groups led by Schill, Dörnberg, and Lützow were in respect to spirit, circumstances of existence, and motley make-up the direct historical forerunners of the numerous adventuresome, extra-legal military organizations that have been discussed in connection with the Schill plays.

Nine plays in our group, representative of all grades of authorship, introduce the common soldier directly and he figures very prominently in three, those by Kayser, Schäfer, and Goetz. This prominence is self-explanatory in the case of Kayser's play which bears the subtitle, *Volksschauspiel mit Gesang*, and which was written with an eye to performance by provincial amateurs, among whom would surely be former private soldiers. As might be expected, Kayser offers stereotyped scenes of the barrack-room and drill-sergeant-versus-recruit variety that are on a par with the mentality of the probable audience and players, and representative of the typified, non-individualized treatment found at the Volkskunst level.

Two other Schill plays, those of Rosikat and Buchhorn, contain one scene each showing a group of soldiers, with no officer present, talking and jesting at their ease, with the rough humor that is a prevalent note of such scenes in all the plays.²²⁸

An unpleasant experience which many a German had had to

²²⁷ W. Frels lists fifty-two for the years 1929-33 inclusive; cf. his art., "Dramat. Produktion des Jahres 1933," *Die neue Literatur*, Vol. XXXV (1934).

²²⁸ Rosikat's *Der deutsche Reiter*, I. iv., p. 23f; Buchhorn's *Schill*, III. i., pp. 69ff.

bear during his compulsory military service before or in the war is reënacted in Kaibel's *Hochverrat*. A soldier of superior intelligence and education has to endure the arrogance and insults of a conceited officer. The words of Yorck, who enters the scene and sternly rebukes the overbearing captain in the case, are perfectly applicable to 1918, although in general the helpless German officers of that year were treated much more mildly than he envisions:

Sie nehmen dem Soldaten jedes Ehrgefühl, jede Würde, jedes Menschenbewusstsein. Gnade Ihnen Gott, wenn es bei uns zur Revolution käme, wie in Frankreich. Sie hingen sofort an der nächsten Laterne. Wir sind alle Soldaten, nur durch Charge unterschieden. Dieser hochmutige Kastengeist kann uns noch den letzten Rest des Zusammenhaltens kosten.²²⁹

The common soldier is a major character in Schäfer's *Der 18. Oktober* whose rough lot supplies, indeed, a great portion of the content. This play presents us moreover with the curious anomaly of a genuine historical plot proceeding in an atmosphere lifted almost bodily from World-War experience. In other words the dramatist offers the veterans in his audience a scene which is superficially historical but actually a vivid, appealingly realistic reproduction of many of their own experiences at the front. The general circumstances are long past but the tone and speech are modern, and even some of the particular situations present startling analogies to the present.

Specifically, the audience sees first a detachment of soldiers bivouacked for the night on the battlefield, hears their random thought, their revelations of extreme physical hardships and attendant complaints, their *Galgenhumor* as they restlessly await dawn and the zero hour. Later the play discloses their magnificent personal devotion to the efficient but humane and fatherly Colonel Bauer—a personal relationship which must have been among the few fine memories a soldier or officer carried from the war. And in contrast the other extreme of officer-soldier relationship, similar to that cited from *Hochverrat*, is given, which results, as was not rarely the case during the world war, in the disliked officer—here Captain Blassa—being shot by his own men.²³⁰ The clear analogy with the last war is completed by the

²²⁹ II. iv., p. 70.

²³⁰ III, pp. 58-59.

incident of the soldiers' mutiny which certainly reproduces in spirit if not in identity, many a scene of November, 1918, when the Soldiers' Councils were being formed and the system of military authority was tottering. It is perfectly possible that the following rencontre between Captain Arco and the truculent, confidently mutinous private Schlagenhauff—who is, incidentally, splendidly alive and Schäfer's best character creation—had its actual counterpart in 1918:

Arco: Treten Sie vor, Schlagenhauff.

Füsilere: Dableiben, Schlagenhauff!

Arco: Sie haben wohl Angst, Schlagenhauff?

Schlagenhauff (auf ihn zu, gemütlich): Aber, Herr Hauptmann, vor was denn? (rückt ihm auf den Leib) Nah genug jetzt?

Arco (springt zurück): Einen Schritt zurück!

Schlagenhauff: Sehen Sie, Herr Hauptmann, etwas weiter ist Ihnen scheint's doch lieber.

Arco: Einen Pistolenschuss weit, Schlagenhauff.

Schlagenhauff: Das hat der Herr Hauptmann Blassa (cf. above) gemeint, das sei die richtige Distanz. Der hat sich aber gehörig verschätzt.²³¹

In Goetz' *Gneisenau* everything does not center around the common soldier but nevertheless he and his sentiments are frequently prominent on the author's broad, historical canvas and constitute an important, integral part of the play. As in *Wallensteins Lager*, though not in the same concentrated form, they supply a background of color and minor human appeal for the main character theme and actually take part in a greater variety of situations than in Schäfer's *Der 18. Oktober*.

The rising curtain discloses a group of soldiers playing cards in the guardroom. Later we overhear others on promenade prattling about love affairs, see them around the campfire at night, observe them in the midst of battle and exhausted after battle. The appearance of two half-naked privates before their general gives evidence of the terrific physical suffering many of the men have to endure.²³² In Scheffler's play, incidentally, Yorck is confronted by a similar pair who in the extremity of their plight had been driven to disobey the order against loot-

²³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

²³² III. i., pp. 118ff.

ing.²³³ The whole play creates a much more convincing historical atmosphere than does Schäfer's treatment and the soldiers of Goetz are no small part of this atmosphere even though their jargon is as clearly modern as in the latter piece. The strong realistic touch Goetz gives his soldiers by having them speak in approximately true dialect is very effective in strengthening the illusion of actual life and thus the appeal of the aspects of life they represent. Excepting the guardroom scene, which would fit just as well into any World-War play, no suggestion of historical incongruity imposes itself upon the spectator.

From the human standpoint revelations of the simple soldier's attitude toward his far-removed generals and toward much more remote abstractions such as war aims and peace negotiations invoke the deepest, most universal response. The peculiar poignance of such scenes for ex-soldiers, who are seeing their own previous emotions objectivised, is obvious. In the third scene of act two the noncommissioned officer expresses simply but impressively his reaction to the news that a general (Scharnhorst) has been wounded:

Gefreiter (herein): Is hier noch Blatz? Mir bring ä General.

Unteroffizier: Man jut, det die es ooch spüren.—Platz, so ville de willst.²³⁴

Following the battle of the Katzbach, won after almost superhuman effort, we find the soldiers exhibiting a natural impulse to relate themselves as individuals to their position in the whole:

Unteroffizier: . . . Wat haben wir schon von ne jewonnene Schlacht. Besser is doch jeschlagen und nich so ville Dote und Verwundte.

Wacker: Vieles spricht hierfür, manches jedoch auch dagegen.

1. Freiwilliger: Und setzet ihr nicht das Leben ein, nie wird euch das Leben gewonnen sein.

Gefreiter: Wenn mer nur wüsste, fär wen mār verreckt! Wenn mer nur wüsste—

Wacker: Einerseits ist es ja noch nicht so weit, andrerseits fürs Vaterland.

Gefreiter: Nee, fär was, das mer liebt.²³⁵

The description of Gneisenau on the battlefield of Waterloo,

²³³ I. vii., pp. 12-14. In Ernst's *Yorck*, II, p. 17, a similar incident is related by the hero.

²³⁴ II. iii., p. 100.

²³⁵ III. iv., pp. 156-157. Cf. *Der 18. Oktober*, I, p. 29f., for the particular dilemma of the soldier of the Rhine Confederation.

urging his exhausted men to keep going on nerve alone and thus accomplish the impossible by the triumph of sheer will-power, cannot fail to have recalled the frequent superhuman efforts put forth by the German soldiers during the World War, often, surely, in response to inspiring commanders, and to revive a just pride in the exploits and accomplishments of the national army of 1914-18.²³⁶ There is no hurrah-patriotism here but solid, inwardly stirring response to elemental heroism. The whole is epitomized in the following splendid lines:

Gneisenau: Könnt ihr noch, Kinder?

Soldaten: Nee, Herr Jeneralleutnant.

Gneisenau: Wollt ihr noch, Kinder?

Soldaten: Feste!²³⁷

Here is a fitting climax to the exposition of the rôle of the common soldier in our plays. The dramatic poet has successfully revived the heroic spirit of the German soldier in the Wars of Liberation and vividly recalled its renascence in the World War a century later for innumerable spectators to whom the latter war had been a stupendous reality. In doing this he has established, through the medium of the stage, a compelling instance of national political immortality at its best.

The "Unpatriotic" German

The foreigner in Germany is bewildered to learn that in the opinion of many individual Germans the mass of their fellow-countrymen or certain segments of the mass are fundamentally unpatriotic or, more exactly expressed, a-patriotic. With the tremendous sacrifices in the interests of national defense by practically the entire nation during the war years in mind, such a reproach is quite incomprehensible and seems to reveal a feature of German psychology which is as distressing as it is curious. A thorough analysis of this mental puzzle would require a special treatise. Here are offered but a few general thoughts as a background for understanding what evidences of this complex our hero dramas afford.

²³⁶ The strength of the common bond of military tradition forged by the national army during the years 1914-18, its relation to the fortunes of the German Republic in general and to the flag controversy (Schwarz-rot-gold vs. Schwarz-weiss-rot) in particular is succinctly stated in Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133; cf. also Mowrer, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

²³⁷ V. iii., p. 236.

To reproach the common, workaday German as a-patriotic may, as a traditional commonplace, partly result from the notorious particularism of the German character, personal and political, and from consequent backwardness in forming a compact, national entity. The strength of this traditional belief in a disorganized national instinct is clearly implied in the prominent exposition accorded it by Gerhart Hauptmann in his festival play recalling the spiritual currents of Napoleonic Germany.²³⁸ Whole passages could be quoted but a few scattered lines containing some of the most pregnant expressions will serve to indicate the substantial nature of the point in question:

Turnvater Jahn

Wird das Kindlein zum Mann, der Gedanke zur Tat,
dann haben wir den neudeutschen Nationalstaat!

Dritter Bürger

Merci! Wir danken für den Salat.

Freiherr vom Stein

Ja, ein Salat, da habt ihr recht,
ist heut das Land der deutschen Stämme.
Der Nation bekommt er schlecht. . . .²³⁹

Scharnhorst

In unsren Gewölben giesst man schon
den Normalpatrioten deutscher Nation,
der mindestens so viel Nationalehre besitzt,
als sie jedem braven Engländer oder Franzosen im Auge blitzt.
.....
Dann bin ich gewiss, dass es uns gelingt,
ihnen einzuhämmern den deutschen Instinkt. . . .²⁴⁰

Das Publikum

(murmelt durcheinander)

Was geht uns das an: Jena und Auerstädt?
Tant de bruit pour une omelette.²⁴¹

Fichte

(am Pult, beginnt seine Rede)

Ich bin gewiss, ihr vernahmet schon
von meinen berühmten Reden an die undeutsche Nation.²⁴²

²³⁸ *Festspiel in deutschen Reimen* (1913).

²³⁹ Hauptmann's *Festspiel*, Gesammelte Werke, Jubiläumsausgabe, (Berlin: Fischer, 1922), VII, 122-123.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

From this historical point of view the measure of the patriotic instinct would be the degree of nationalism attained. With the triumph of this latter principle in 1870 one might expect the assumption of a blot on the patriotic 'scutcheon gradually to lose its significance. Instead, however, we find that it retained substantial validity, apparently because nationalism had conquered only political, not social feudalism. So strong was the last indeed that even after the World War and the Ruhr struggle, in which the working classes had proven their true patriotic devotion beyond all question, the middle and upper classes still did not consider them equal citizens in the political society which constituted the German nation and likewise, as if by natural corollary, did not trust the quality of their patriotism. Social conceit insisted upon an unnatural internal disunion. Since millions of workers were organized in the Social Democratic Party (or parties) the unjust reproach was transferred largely to this party and intensified by the anti-patriotic stigma of "Marxism" attaching to it despite its loyal war record.

This sort of opinion was propagated chiefly by reactionary parties, including of course the military, who complained of the indifference of the war-weary masses to chauvinistic national aims and to foreign antagonisms in the abstract. These reactionaries came to insist that the adjective *patriotic* be defined not as "loving one's country" but as "belligerently nationalistic." Whoever did not share this violent attachment was in their eyes un-German and unpatriotic. The notorious "stab-in-the-back" legend, which they assiduously nurtured, is the crystallization of their attempt to discredit the supporters of the Republic as unpatriotic and to hasten the restoration of the old military order. Briefly, the *Dolchstoss* theory was that the German army had not been defeated by the Allies but that the brave soldiers successfully defending their country at the front had been betrayed (stabbed) by unpatriotic agitators of the left and center parties at home who had broken the German people's spirit of determined resistance and brought on the revolution and the collapse.²⁴³ The wide credence given this legend by many groups, including the students, is the best evidence of the very definite existence of the class-judgment of which we are speaking.

²⁴³ Cf. Rosenberg, *op cit.*, pp. 159-160; also, *Der grosse Brockhaus*, 15th ed., V., caption, "Dolchstoss," for concise treatment and bibliog. information; also App. I.

In Lienhard's playlet for the amateur stage clear expression is given the contention that inferior patriotism is an unfortunate trait of German character reaching national proportions:

Mutter: . . . mit dem nationalen Charakter ist es bei manchen Deutschen kümmerlich bestellt.

. . . ich sage dir, der mittelmässigste Franzose hat noch mehr Nationalgefühl als der Durchschnittsdeutsche.

. . . Meine Vorfahren (French) haben ihr Vaterland aufgegeben; aber die vaterländische Glut haben sie behalten und auf Deutschland übertragen. Ihr könnt wahrlich etwas davon brauchen.²⁴⁴

Although this was probably a justified complaint in various portions of the finally buried corpse of the mediaeval empire in 1809 when no nation as yet existed, it is curious that it agrees perfectly with a common opinion discussed in the years following the débâcle of 1918 and that it sounds strangely familiar to anyone who lived in Germany during the nineteen-twenties.

The whole matter is intimately connected with the problem of patriotic behavior posed by all the Schill plays, but a clear distinction can be made. Whereas the Schill problem deals with the judgment of patriotic attitudes toward a specific issue as determined by timeliness and personal temperament (rational versus emotional motivations), we are here concerned with the belief, justified or not, in a commonly found national deficiency or shortcoming which has its basis in tradition but which receives added emphasis from attendant political and social conditions. The distinction is especially well preserved in Lienhard's play where the person making the contentions quoted above has already taken sides in the pro and con of the Schill problem.²⁴⁵

In Schill's time an industrial proletariat did not exist and the petty bourgeois receives the brunt of the attack in our plays. This typified German and his spirit are, moreover, not at all neglected by present-day devotees of a military state.²⁴⁶ Rosikat's Schill vows to

²⁴⁴ Pp. 19-20.

²⁴⁵ *Supra*, pp. 12-13.

²⁴⁶ The rightists' violent attack on Remarque's *Im Westen Nichts Neues*, which failed to glorify the recent war and which is now banned in Germany, is a typical instance. A Ger. military periodical observes: "The success of Remarque's book is the last triumph of the profiteer and shirker and materialistic spirit (Spießergeist)." From *Deutsche Wehr*, Apr. 15, 1932; quoted by Mowrer, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

make Stralsund "der Pfahl in Fleische des welschen Tigers und des deutschen Spiessers."²⁴⁷ Further in the same act a deputation of citizens begging Schill to refrain from using the city as a battleground and pictured as denying their German origin (Stralsund was at that time still a part of Swedish territory) receives the answer:

Da ihr mit der Wucht der Einstimmigkeit keine deutschen Männer sein wollt, bin ich aller Rücksicht auf Euch los und ledig.²⁴⁸

In Klimesch's play we find a Philistine himself confessing: "Wir sind ein jammervolles Volk. 's ist wahr."²⁴⁹ To this the convert from pacifism, Friedenburg, replies:

Das ist so recht nach unserem Geschmack,
behaglich wird uns jedes Zugeständnis.²⁴⁹

In the same play occurs a passage whose sentiments coincide with those of reactionaries who considered the war-weariness of the loyal but exhausted German people in the early twenties a crime approaching treason:

Bedingungslosen Frieden wünschen heisst
Verbündeter von Hochverrättern sein,
bewusster oder unbewusster Mörder
der Kräfte und der wahren Eigenschaften,
die jedes Volk gebraucht, sich durchzusetzen!²⁵⁰

It is interesting to note that the specialist in patriotic literature, Josef Buchhorn, in the already cited introduction to his Schill play, clearly places the blame for Germany's pitiful estate during the twenties to a general breakdown of the patriotic spirit at the end of the war:

. . . Wenn nicht der Zusammenbruch in der November-Revolution, Deutschland noch Deutschland gewesen wäre, das 'heil'ge Vaterland,' das Land der Treue, dann wäre solcher Spuk nie grause Wirklichkeit geworden. Aber,

²⁴⁷ III. i., p. 57. Compare following lines from Hauptmann's *Festspiel*, *loc. cit.*, p. 138:

Zweiter Student

Elender Philister, Pfahlbürger und Spiesser,
rutsch Bauch nach Paris, du bist ein Pariser!

²⁴⁸ III. i., p. 63.

²⁴⁹ V, p. 88.

²⁵⁰ III, p. 50.

das 'heil'ge Vaterland,' das Land der Treue war gewesen. War nur noch Glück und Stolz von gestern. . . .²⁵¹

The two Yorck plays in the group of minor stage dramas contain passages giving evidence of this disparaging opinion of German patriotism. Kaibel's Yorck, referring to the Alsatian General Rapp in Napoleon's service who feels himself thoroughly French, deplors the recession of German feeling in the border districts such as Alsace:

. . . Den verschütteten deutschen Born in Grenzländern zu wecken, dazu gehört ein andrer Lehrmeister als der unpolitische Deutsche, nämlich das Elend der Knechtschaft.²⁵²

In Kyser's *Schicksal um Yorck* the dispute between the councilor Schulz and his son as to what constitutes real patriotism furnishes another sidelight on the matter with special reference to Prussia. The father is apparently of the opinion that the Prussians would be remiss in their patriotic duty if they showed any mercy to the remnants of Napoleon's Grande Armée on their flight through Prussia, or if they supported Macdonald's corps a minute longer. He says to his son:

. . . Weisst du, was er (Napoleon) dem Marschall Ney zugerufen hat, als der ihn vor der Flucht durch Preussen warnte?! 'Die Preussen sind die Gascogner von Deutschland. Sie haben kein Nationalgefühl!'²⁵³

The son Ernst retorts: "Sie haben wohl nur zuviel Ehre im Leib," and the father returns with: "Das nennst du Ehre?"

The above citations from various plays in the lower groups of the pyramid, though not numerous, are sufficient to give a definite reflection of a peculiar and unfortunate phase of German national life which has its traditional and its transitory political aspects. They assume a significance which far transcends their importance for the plays in which they occur when we consider the very recent manifestations of the attitude they partially disclose. The habit of stigmatizing some fellow-Germans as un-German or even anti-German seems to have been apotheosized by the present German government which has transformed it into a pronounced and comprehensive national policy. It is interesting but without pointed signifi-

²⁵¹ These lines immediately precede the sentence beginning, "So ward passiver Widerstand. . . ." in the quotation, *supra*, p. 21.

²⁵² I. iv., p. 28.

²⁵³ III. ii., p. 40.

cance that none of the plays at the highest level of artistic expression is concerned with presenting the mental complex under discussion.

Criticism of the Hohenzollerns

Whatever remained of the aura of sanctity which the Hohenzollerns had endeavored to preserve for their dynasty was dispelled with the flight of its last and most vainglorious representative to Holland in 1918. With some justice—albeit the Germans, like other peoples, were not inclined to be very self-critical in placing the ultimate responsibility for their woes—many sections of the populace proceeded to make the ex-Kaiser one of the scapegoats for their defeat. In view of the latter's previous touchiness on points of dynastic dignity, one can hardly blame the German public for indulging with some relish in the exercise of its new and unexpected freedom of expression. Publicizing an honest disrespect, old or newly-formed, for the imperial person or principle was no longer a crime.

No medium of artistic expression enjoyed the release from the former *noli me tangere* dictum more than the theatre which, because of its recognized potentialities for exciting collective emotions and directing collective opinions—its character as a public forum is rarely if ever completely submerged—had always suffered most from the arbitrariness of censorship. For the first time historical drama became free from the stultifying restrictions on the presentation of matters or persons involving the Hohenzollern dynasty in particular and German political history in general. The record of the restraint imposed upon this type of creative expression by autocratic obstructionism would form the subject of an interesting investigation involving many notable dramatists. Grillparzer is immediately recalled as the tragic victim par excellence, and Kleist's case is not much different. The Hohenzollerns received *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* so coldly that formal censorship was not necessary to keep the manuscript still-born for many years and further to discourage its easily unbalanced author. This despite the fact that they had indirectly encouraged its writing and despite its pronouncedly favorable exposition of Hohenzollern Prussia. The last prominent pre-war instance of Hohenzollern sensitivity involves a play whose special interest for our study has already been demonstrated in another connection. The case of Hauptmann's *Festspiel in deutschen Reimen* and its estoppel by royal insistence after the eleventh performance

at the Breslau centennial in 1913 is famous. The reasons for dynastic disfavor were this time scarcely obscure since Hauptmann, in his commemoration of the liberation of Germany from Napoleon, neglected royal personages, praised the sacrifice of the people, showed scant respect for military glory, and through the mouth of the symbolic figure, *Athene Deutschland*, entered a moving plea for a general peace. The play by Unruh which is part of this study by grace of royal prohibition during the final years of the Hohenzollern regime will be discussed below.

The record of the republican stage shows that the German dramatists availed themselves eagerly of their new freedom, as did the German theatre-goers of their new opportunity, and that mutual satisfaction resulted. It is certain that the extraordinary revival of historical drama in the first post-war decade was due in no small measure to the stimulus of the new liberty in historical criticism and interpretation.²⁵⁴

This is peculiarly true of the dramas dealing with the Napoleonic period. Frederick William III's record and personality afford abundant material for every sort of criticism and although there is little likeness between him and the ex-Kaiser the opportunity to exercise the new critical privilege was a fine incentive for both author and audience. Destructive criticism moreover was not necessarily an end in itself, for the bankruptcy of the monarchical system upon which the former government had been based forced the Germans to reflect seriously on the principles it had incorporated in an effort to determine what, if anything, should be preserved from the wreck.

Deprecatory remarks about Frederick William III and his policies follow quite naturally from the substance of all the plays except Schäfer's *Der 18. Oktober* and it is not necessary to tabulate them. Only those of special interest, which means in general those which attack the monarchy as well as the monarch, will be cited. Incidentally, the plays which gained stage acceptance are also the ones which indulge most freely in monarchical criticism, which is relatively unimportant in the closet dramas. The notable exception is Paul Ernst's *Yorck*, in which, as we have seen,

²⁵⁴ Dietz' otherwise adequate survey of this revival, *op cit.*, pp. 1-10, neglects this important factor.

there is an endeavor to uphold the principle of kingship by divine right—the principle that is raked over the coals in the works of Kaibel, Leyst, Schwarz, Lissauer, and Goetz.

Although the Yorck of Kaibel's *Hochverrat* tries at first to preserve his belief in the monarchy in the face of Stein's utter lack of respect for it,²⁵⁵ he later despairs when his king has left him in the lurch, and gives vent to the sacrilegious utterance:

. . . Herrgott, dass eine Krone genügt, um König zu sein, dass dazu kein Kopf Vorschrift ist.²⁵⁶

Yorck's problem in Lissauer's play involves a deep, searching criticism of the monarchical idea, while the king himself, who appears in the prologue and again in the fifth act, is a very sorry figure. He is also treated with little leniency in the two Gneisenau dramas which likewise censure, or expose to the censure of republican-minded spectators (who are perhaps thinking of his descendant), his fundamental lack of sympathy for his people. The exposé is very strong throughout the whole last act of Lissauer.

An important secondary conflict in *Gneisenau und Napoleon* is that between the forces of national progress as represented by Gneisenau, and the reactionary royalty. The following speech of Gneisenau to the courtier Knesebeck adequately sums up this antagonism and clearly suggests contempt for the monarch:

jede Reform—jede freiheitliche Regung—jede Kraftäusserung des Volks ist dem König zuwider aber der König verdankt den Reformen und der Energie des Volks seine Rettung.²⁵⁷

In Goetz play (fourth act) Frederick William's manner of annoyed condescension when a waiting citizens' deputation is announced, his resentment of the popular demonstrations accorded Blücher and of the double-edged word *Freiheitskriege*, must have been very satisfying food for the dislike of free-spirited German republicans.²⁵⁸ Earlier in the play Gneisenau utters his disgust with enforced formal servility in strong words which one may be sure would not have found their way past the printing

²⁵⁵ I. ix., p. 48.

²⁵⁶ II. viii., p. 84.

²⁵⁷ IV, p. 81.

²⁵⁸ IV. iv., p. 201f.

ensor, not to mention the theatre censor, before 1918. To Clausewitz he says:

Was wird aus euch, wenn ich jetzt nicht den königlichen Speichel lecke?
 . . . ²⁵⁹

Fritz von Unruh's *Louis Ferdinand* is of peculiar significance for our study because its performance—not its appearance in print—actually was forbidden by the imperial government even though the author treats Frederick William III with real sympathy and understanding and portrays the prince as finally sacrificing himself for the principle, if not for the personal recipient, of monarchical loyalty. The former imperial family's objection undoubtedly arose from the unhistorical scene in the last act depicting Prussian generals offering allegiance to Louis Ferdinand. But the suggestion running through the play that the accident of dynastic succession and not the grace of God had given the crown to the less kingly Hohenzollern, and that one Hohenzollern might usurp the throne of another, was no doubt sufficiently unwelcome. In any case the great popularity of the play in the first post-war decade showed that the Germans thoroughly enjoyed an imaginative drama of their history which had been forbidden them under the imperial regime.

If the Kaiser had serious doubts about a play so fair in its views as Unruh's, he would have stood aghast at the offenses of lèse-majesté in the Yorck and Gneisenau plays discussed above and in the second Louis Ferdinand play. Schwarz' *Prinz von Preussen*, already noted at length for its revolutionary enthusiasm, contains a lively attack on the king, who does not appear in person, and on his *Gottesgnadentum*. In the second act the prince reveals his revolutionary complex while making the quixotically sentimental, treasonous proposal to Queen Louise that she usurp her husband's throne. Excerpts from his effusions are worth quoting:

. . . Wir glauben dem Königtum des Mannes nicht mehr! Ja, wir fürchten, dass dieses Königtum des Mannes dort drüben ein für allemal unter der Kanzel beigesetzt sei. . . . ²⁶⁰ und das Leben suche nach neuen Formen und Gesetzen, um den Völkern neue Lieder und Fahnen zu geben! ²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ I. ii., p. 32.

²⁶⁰ Reference is to the tomb of Frederick the Great.

²⁶¹ II, p. 62.

Majestät, das Königtum ist nur solange stark, als es königliche Menschen gibt, die der Zeit vorangehen und ihr den Stempel aufprägen. . . . Die Gnade wird den Königen nicht verliehen, weil sie Könige sind—die Gnade ist immer einmalig, immer persönlich!²⁶²

In addition of course, as we have noted in connection with the Frederick the Great theme, this play, like *Unruh's*, strongly suggests the superior fitness of Louis Ferdinand for the kingship.

A new censorship even more severe than that under the Hohenzollerns was inaugurated in 1933 which put a quick end to the German people's disappointingly brief period of liberty of expression. The tenor of the monarchical criticism in Schwarz' play, performed in 1935, makes it very apparent, however, that the re-orientation of *lèse-majesté* did not involve a revival of the old in its strictly dynastic application. The political reasons are obvious.

Significance of the Duty versus Inclination Motif

The various approaches to the duty versus inclination motif which have been noted involve the careers of each hero and are contained in all but four of the plays. It is a notable element in all the plays that rank highest because of their artistic merit or success on the stage or both. If we were to look beyond our own group we would find it a conspicuous constituent of many other dramas of the period, especially of the *Fridericus* dramas, from which the very popular one by von der Goltz might be mentioned as typical.²⁶³ Since the former Prussia may be defined as a military monarchy and since both militarism and monarchism are systems based on the principle of unquestioning submission of the individual to commands from above—authoritarian political morality in its extreme form—it is of course natural that the citizen's relation to the duty-imperative receives prominent consideration in dramas which stress Prussianism, as do the Yorck and Louis Ferdinand dramas in our own group. Writing in 1923 on dramas in this general category, Heinrich Meyer-Benfey remarks:

Das Preussendrama ist eine charakteristische Erscheinung und eine zahlreich vertretene Kategorie in der zeitgenössischen Literatur, die für den Politiker

²⁶² II., pp. 62-63.

²⁶³ Joachim v.d. Goltz, *Vater und Sohn. Ein Drama aus der Jugend Friedrichs des Grossen*, (Munich, 1922).

wie für den Literaturhistoriker gleich interessant ist. Zeigt sich doch, wie das alte Preussen, das Land des Militarismus und Monarchismus, das in der äusseren Wirklichkeit seine Rolle ausgespielt hat, in den Seelen der Menschen, wenigstens bei einem Teil des Volks, noch keineswegs tot ist.²⁶⁴

Although we are not preoccupied in this study with the duty-inclination problem per se, it will be profitable to expand briefly on the words of Meyer-Benfey and indicate why the German dramatists and their audiences of the post-war era exhibit such a preoccupation. A few passages from the plays themselves will serve as corroborative evidence.

The Germans shed their monarchical cloak as a more or less useless heritage in 1918 but they did not and could not forsake ingrained traits of national character for which the monarchy and its appendages had been the parade dress. Two of these traits, orderliness, which implies, and a strongly developed sense of duty, which requires, obedience to authority, soon reasserted themselves after the comparative chaos of 1918-19 and continued to guide the deeper currents of national action even though their observance was partially submerged in the chronic spasms of lawlessness that characterized the period. Confusion persisted only because the average German's sense of duty was confused. Dynastic loyalty had been discarded but the Republic was unsuccessful in establishing itself as the new authority which should receive the unquestioned and undivided allegiance of its citizens. In this quandary it is apparent that many Germans, in seeking clarification, were attracted to the enlivened exposition offered by the stage of the rôle the duty-imperative had played in their history. One may point out that the dilemma was of their own making because the authority of the Republic was theoretically derived from the will of the people, that is, from themselves; but this does not alter the fact that the amorphous present was less attractive than the sculptured past.²⁶⁵

The exposition of the duty-inclination problem in these plays dealing with the Napoleonic era confronted the interested audiences with a confusion duplicating their own. There is a lively spirit of insubordination in all the plays containing this motif

²⁶⁴ "Preussendramen," *Die Neue Zeit* (Chicago), V., no. 30 (July 28, 1923), 13-15.

²⁶⁵ Compare Mowrer, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

and although this spirit is not everywhere triumphant it is significant to reflect that the two most popular military figures, Yorck and Schill, had become national heroes by virtue of deeds done in violation of the Prussian duty to obey without question. Thus there is some support for the heretical dictum which the poet Kleist in *Prinz von Preussen* exclaims while pleading with the prince to assume the leadership of the Prussian people: "Preussen wird nur durch Ungehorsam gross!"²⁶⁶ The rationalization out of this dilemma which the plays offer is that authoritarianism in political morality is the best foundation for a strong state that will survive numerous shocks, but that violations are sanctioned where the transgressor does not really transgress because he is acting in harmony with the "higher" destiny of the state. A speech in Goetz' drama gives as good insight as possible into the significance of heroic insubordination. The wounded Scharnhorst says feelingly to his friend Gneisenau: "Ueber der Pflicht das Gewissen, mein armer alter Freund! Pflichten zerbrechen, ist letzte Pflicht."²⁶⁷

The trend of recent events in Germany indicates clearly enough the hold that authoritarianism has retained on its people. A few passages in the Yorck plays of Lissauer and Kyser voice perfectly some of the sentiments which guided this trend. Many of the older generation in post-war Germany were prone to extol as the ne plus ultra of political virtue the perfect order that prevailed under the pre-war government, and force of habit made them incapable of regarding this perfection as separable from national power and strength. They tended to be as pessimistic as the stiff old monarchist Yorck in Kyser's play who likewise identifies the strength of Prussia with the strength of the obedience-principle and tragically intimates that the collapse of the latter means the end of the state: "Es gibt dann keinen König, es gibt dann kein Preussen mehr!"²⁶⁸ A similarly pessimistic speech by Yorck's adjutant Seydlitz in Lissauer's play reflects also the attitude of large sections of the German middle class who lost their courage in the relative confusion that the unaccustomed political freedom had produced. With the unified alle-

²⁶⁶ III, p. 96.

²⁶⁷ II, iii., p. 104.

²⁶⁸ III, viii., p. 48.

giance to a personal monarch gone and loyalties divided among various abstract ideals of a political state, they could see only national disintegration ahead:

Seydlitz: Lieber Schack, ist es einmal so weit gekommen, kämpfen Offiziere gegen Offiziere, wenn das Land in allen Fugen kracht, dann wird einem schliesslich alles gleich. Sehen Sie Preussen? Ich sehe es nicht.

Schack: Wie meinen Sie das?

Seydlitz: Es liegt für mich wie unter einem Nebel, es löst sich auf. Darum begrüsse ich alles, was Halt geben kann. Und da ist mir schliesslich das Los des Einzelnen, und wenn's mein Bruder wäre, gering.²⁶⁹

One need not hesitate to make Seydlitz the mouthpiece for the large numbers of Germans who, although not necessarily in sympathy with many features of the national-socialistic program, welcomed with resignation and relief their release in 1933 from the discomforts of political self-determination. Without asking the price they accepted the new authoritarian state where the individual was once more little and the state all and the order they had yearned for reigned again, even though by force.

This reassertion, indeed culmination, of an inherent strain towards authoritarianism in the national character, of which the stress on the duty motif in historical drama was an indication, is so interesting that it deserves a few additional concluding remarks. The inability or lack of desire on the part of the Germans to discard old national ways, and their apparent willingness to emphasize the duty-concept as least as much as the Hohenzollern dynasty had desired, is concretely recorded in recent revisions of the constitution whereby they relinquish the democratic philosophy of self-rule and proclaim the absolute superiority of the state. The following is an excerpt from a cursory description of the change:

. . . Der Begriff der Grundrechte des liberal-demokratischen Staates hat im neuen Reich keinen Eingang gefunden, da *für dieses nicht die Rechte, sondern die Pflichten* des Staatsbürgers an erster Stelle stehen.²⁷⁰

Although the reestablishment of universal military service was joyfully greeted as a sign of growing political independence and power, one is undoubtedly justified in assuming that it answered

²⁶⁹ II, p. 35.

²⁷⁰ *Knauers Konversationslexikon* (Berlin, 1934), under the caption, "Reichsverfassung," pp. 1331-32. Italics mine.

an innate longing for the return to a more disciplined life. But with the application of military discipline to almost all walks of life the present regime has apparently reached the apotheosis of duty—the pillar of Prussianism.

The Preussen-Deutschland Theme

The preceding discussion was concerned with the implications of one important phase of a much wider complex that has been a vital factor in German history since Frederick the Great. This is the relation between Prussia and the rest of Germany and abstractly the relation between the concept *Prussia* and the concept *Germany* including Prussia. The points of divergence and incidence in both the political and cultural phases of the intra-national relationship are so blurred, even to the German, that a complete solution is a hopeless task and any exposition, even if objective and not partisan, remains perforce inconclusive and at the most informative. The nature of this study of course demands only a very partial exposition which will stress the significance of the problem for the Napoleonic and post-Versailles periods and correlate the two. To do this effectively it will be advisable to trace briefly prominent externals that outline the relationship since its emergence as a dominant factor in the integration of German life.

Frederick the Great established Prussia as a continental power and as Austria's rival in the German political orbit. His military exploits and political genius awakened the longing for national statehood among political and cultural idealists in all parts of Germany (save Austria) and gave Prussia a following among the minor states. The intimate and usually unpleasant contact with exuberant French nationalism during the Napoleonic era forced the Germans to a greater awareness of their cultural and political peculiarities and greatly enhanced the growth of national feeling which benefited, too, from the Romantic Movement and its idealization of the mediaeval empire. In the meantime the idea that the politically gifted and martially competent Prussia could be the best instrument for attaining national unity had gradually gained ground and had attracted to the Prussian banner many of Germany's strongest men as: Stein, Hardenberg, and Arndt; Scharnhorst, Blücher, and Gneise-

nau. Their great contribution to the rejuvenation of Prussia and her final victory over Napoleon show how far the coalescence had proceeded where a coalition was not yet possible and that the concept of a "pure Prussia" was already an anomaly.

Prussia did somewhat more than liberate itself from Napoleon's grip and emerged from the Wars of Liberation with its power and territory as well as its prestige greatly increased. Furthermore it preserved its own peculiarity as a conservative military monarchy and proved itself stronger than the "German" liberalism which Stein, Gneisenau, and other non-Prussians had fostered. "Prussia" and "democracy" or even "liberalism" seemed mutually exclusive and Prussian and German ideology had not harmonized. This was reemphasized very sharply in 1849 when Prussia refused the leadership of a proposed liberal federation of German states. Later, under Bismarck, she was able to establish unquestioned hegemony of an imperial federation on her own terms and exclude Austria. Her overwhelming control and the magnetism of her success and power determined the fact that the Germany of 1870-1918 was politically not an all-German fusion but an enlarged Prussia and became indoctrinated with Prussian ideals. The tendency of pre-war Germany to glorify the military order is sufficient proof. Although Prussia was dominant she did not, of course, remain unopposed. Even Bismarck saw another light at times and he is quoted as having once said that Prussia must be Germanized.²⁷¹

The collapse of the military order and monarchy in 1918 and the establishment of a republic seemed to indicate that the German people had finally overthrown Prussianism and disavowed its military philosophy. Republican Germany sought indeed formally to symbolize the change by celebrating the first anniversary of Constitution Day, 1920, with a performance of Hauptmann's peace-praising, war-condemning *Festspiel* which imperial Germany had rejected.²⁷² However militarism was revived on the wave of a growing reaction and even under the Republic the army was able to reestablish itself as a state within the state. Although Prussia as a

²⁷¹ Ernst Jäckh, *The New Germany*, (Oxford, 1927), p. 18.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 86n. It was performed in the State Theatre, Berlin, in the presence of President Ebert.

politico-geographical entity may now have lost its predominance in the fusion of Germany into a highly centralized government, the nature of the new regime, as we have seen in connection with the duty-inclination issue, gives one the impression that the philosophy of Prussianism, which is preëminently the philosophy of the military state, has passed beyond the hegemony stage and completed, on the surface at least, its conquest of all Germany. A convenient confirmation is offered, interestingly enough, by a national-socialist writer, Kurt Gerlach, in a book defining the relation of the drama to the nation. He states: "Die Demokratie fand keine Beziehung zum deutschen Staat, und das ist der preussische für Gesamtdeutschland."²⁷³

The above sketch should clearly show that the *Preussen-Deutschland* association must occupy a conspicuous place in the mental pattern of any nationally-conscious German. It should be obvious, too, that the depiction of any phase of this problem would actively interest the post-war generation which wavered between rejection and acceptance of the continued validity of Prussianism as a predominate integrating force in the life of the nation. For this generation, too, the question of including Austria in the national union became once more acute.

In reviewing the individual plays attention was called, where appropriate, to a few broad distinctions between the Prussian and the German spirit, but in general the terms "Prussian" and "German" were used indiscriminately to designate objects for patriotic contemplation. This merely reflected a similar lack of discrimination in the plays themselves, which in turn reflected the degree to which they were fused in the minds of Germans of the past two decades and confused in the minds of Germans of the Napoleonic era. An example or two of the confusion in Napoleonic Germany may be profitably cited. A passage from a letter of Schleiermacher to the historian Friedrich von Raumer shows the opposition he meets when he declares his adherence to Prussia as the hope of Germany:

. . . Ausserdem, dass ich ein Deutscher bin, habe ich wirklich aus vielen Gründen die Schwachheit ein Preusse zu sein, zu grossem Aerger Ihres Bruders und Steffens. Aber freilich geht meine Leidenschaft auf eine Idee von Preussen, welche vielleicht in der Erscheinung die wenigsten erkennen.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ *Drama und Nation*, (Breslau: Hirt, 1934), p. 33.

²⁷⁴ Letter dated at Halle, June 12, 1807, quoted in Schulze, *Die Franzosenzeit in deutschen Landen*, (Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1908), I, 140.

And the draft of an appeal to the Prussian Army, prepared for the king by his influential aide Knesebeck, throws interesting light on the uncertainty with which the terms "Prussia" and "Germany" were handled by leading political figures. Knesebeck's natural inclination to use "Deutschland" is twice corrected to "Vaterland" and the phrase "Deutschen Heeren" is replaced by "Preussens Heeren."²⁷⁵ The king's own draft, a revision of Knesebeck's, uses "Vaterland" and avoids the word "Preussen" altogether. Knesebeck also worked out a draft of an appeal to the German princes and people in which Frederick William is to suggest that he is both aware and proud of his mission to lead the rest of Germany to freedom.²⁷⁶ As we know, however, the king directed his appeal of March 17, 1813, to his subjects only; but in it he twice repeats the phrase "Preusse und Deutsche."²⁷⁷

The most outspokenly *Preussendramen* (those by Ernst, Lissauer, Kyser, Scheffler, and Unruh) simply imply, by their preoccupation with Prussian ideology, Prussia's superior rôle in German history and the harmony of her aims with those of a larger Germany. The word "Deutsch" or "Deutschland" occurs very infrequently in all these plays and is scarcely to be found at all in Lissauer's.²⁷⁸ It is interesting, though, that the plays of Ernst and Kyser end (deliberately, no doubt) on a German rather than exclusively Prussian note. In the final line of Ernst's drama, Yorck declaims that the world would be lost if the "deutsche Volk" perished. In one of the closing speeches of Kyser's *Schicksal um Yorck*, General Kleist insists that the hero has ". . . die Glut, die uns ganz Deutschland wieder eisern zusammenschweisst!" This is of course deliberately anachronistic for the benefit of the hopefully enthusiastic patriots of the early nineteen-thirties, since in 1813 a Germany 'welded together like iron' had never existed. At the beginning of Ernst's drama the same General Kleist is permitted to relate an incident calculated to demonstrate that the Prussians of 1813 had

²⁷⁵ Pflugk-Harttung, *Das Befreiungsjahr 1813* (Berlin: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1913), p. 57.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59f. Final draft of the *Aufruf an mein Volk* is accredited to v. Hippel; cf., Oncken, *op. cit.*, II, 592.

²⁷⁸ Just twice, to be exact: I, p. 26; II, p. 43.

retained their honor while the other Germans had not:

Ich war bei Insterburg dabei. Der Kaiser
Ritt an der Front entlang: Holländer, Polen,
Franzosen, Italiener, Portugiesen,
Deutsche—ich werde rot, die Deutschen auch
Schrien 'Vive l'empereur.' Die Preussen standen stumm.²⁷⁹

Opposed to these ultra-Prussian plays are the two Gneisenau plays and Schäfer's *Der 18. Oktober*, in which, as previously remarked, a broader German spirit prevails and Prussia, instead of being exalted, is definitely subordinated to Pan-German sentiments. Gneisenau's (Goetz) consciousness of the greater cause for which he and the Silesian army are fighting is revealed in his protest during the Battle of Leipzig against the obstacles to complete victory:

. . . Wir kämpfen nicht nur gegen Frankreich, wir kämpfen gegen Oesterreich, Russland, Preussen!²⁸⁰

And the indifference of the young Prussian student-volunteer Fabricius to any exclusively Prussian aims is well symbolized in the toast he offers in the first act of Schäfer's play: "Ich trinke auf den Sieg der deutschen Sache!"²⁸¹ In this play the aims and spirit of Prussia and the wished-for Germany are pictured as completely harmonious.

In between these two groups are several dramas with a predominant Prussian element but in which distinctions between Prussia and Germany are brought out and contradictions apparent. The Schill plays of Rosikat and Buchhorn and Schwarz' *Prinz von Preussen* provide the most significant examples.

In striking contrast to *Unruh's* play with its exclusive but attractive Prussian patriotism the terms "Deutsch" and "Deutschland" are noticeably frequent in Schwarz' version where Louis Ferdinand and his sympathizers are emphatic about Prussia's duty and destiny to champion the cause of a new Germany. The poet Kleist proclaims: ". . . Preussen steht dort, wo Hermann stand!"²⁸² Marwitz insists: "Der König muss sich ermannen! Was würde aus Deutschland werden, wenn Preussen auf seine Führerrolle verzich-

²⁷⁹ I, p. 5.

²⁸⁰ IV. ii., p. 191.

²⁸¹ I, p. 22.

²⁸² III, p. 98.

ten wollte!"²⁸³ And Louis Ferdinand's belief is accurately expressed in the following words:

... Man muss das Beispiel wagen, damit sich das Wunder begibt. Und das Wunder wird die Erhebung des deutschen Volkes sein, wenn Preussen ein Beispiel im Opfer gegeben hat.—²⁸⁴

The court party's inability to agree with this altruistic view of Prussia's duty toward Germany is evident from the opposition with which the prince and his followers are confronted. It is interesting to note the reactions of a contemporary reviewer to the dramatist's exposition of the prince's Prussia-Germany complex:

... Widerspruch aber scheint es zu fordern, wenn der Dichter den Prinzen gelegentlich, statt von Preussen, von Deutschland sprechen und ihn als Vorkämpfer seiner Befreiung und nationalen Wiedergeburt auftreten lässt. Denn so statthaft die dichterische Verklärung des Prinzen im übrigen ist, so empfindet man es doch als einen Anachronismus, wenn Schwarz ihn von einem allgemein deutschen Nationalbewusstsein erfüllt sein lässt, das infolge mancherlei politischer Antagonismen und partikularistischer Tendenzen und Ambitionen in Preussen um 1806 ebensowenig anzutreffen gewesen sein dürfte wie anderswo.²⁸⁵

Undoubtedly Schwarz does endow the prince with a more perfect sense of German nationality than he actually possessed, but he is not especially illogical in doing so, for Louis Ferdinand was greatly influenced, as we know, by the Pan-Germanists Stein and Gneisenau and had been an aggressive proponent of an effective alliance between the two strongest German states, Prussia and Austria. Furthermore there is no reason why the poetically-inclined Prussian prince could not have at least approached the clearly developed concept of national unity projected by the Prussian poet Kleist in the *Hermannsschlacht*, the spirit of which Schwarz tries in a measure to introduce into his play.

The Schill of Rosikat's play and the Schill of Buchhorn's are not at one in the purpose of their sacrifice. The former Schill speaks of "der Eid von tausend treuen Preussen, für Deutschland zu siegen oder zu sterben,"²⁸⁶ while the latter is throughout much more con-

²⁸³ I, p. 40.

²⁸⁴ VII, p. 185.

²⁸⁵ From a review that originally appeared in "Tremonia," Dortmund, and reprinted in *Elsner*, VII (1935), 203-205. Author not named.

²⁸⁶ III, i., p. 61.

cerned with the fate of Prussia alone, as is clear from the following lines:

Das Reich zu schirmen . . . ? Ein böser Scherz! . . . Heut gilt's nur
e i n s noch . . . gilt es: P r e u s s e n zu schirmen; denn; das Reich
. . . ?²⁸⁷

The Austrian factor is introduced in the three plays just discussed and in the Gneisenau plays. In the two Schill plays there is a clear reflection of the hopes and enthusiasm aroused in the rest of anti-Napoleonic Germany by Austria's own "war of liberation" undertaken in the spring of 1809. She had organized a national army, and its leader, Archduke Charles, appealed to the Germans to join the crusade against Napoleon, intimating that Austria was aware of her mission to save Germany.²⁸⁸ Andreas Hofer's courageous uprising in Tyrol in the same year was also a tremendous inspiration to German patriotism.²⁸⁹ Austria was commonly lauded and the hope and desire was strong in many Prussian circles that Frederick William III would join her and insure victory. Not only Schill but many influential military leaders such as Gneisenau and Scharnhorst were disgusted when the king held back. In Rosikat's *Der deutsche Reiter* the hero's betrothed expresses this sentiment:

Sind nicht alle Preussen entehrt, wenn ihre Regierung in Berlin den österreichischen Blut- und Schicksalbruder im Augenblick seines Freiheitskampfes im Stich lässt und das Bündnis des Korsen nicht verschmäht, der uns beide knechtet?²⁹⁰

In Buchhorn's play Prussia is not so severely condemned but regret is expressed. The Countess Dönhoff reveals the sentiment of Berlin in that spring: ". . . Die ganze Stadt möcht' ausrücken und mit Oesterreich vom Leder ziehen!"²⁹¹

Queen Louise and Prince Ferdinand in Schwarz' play are depicted arguing for and against a Prussian-Austrian alliance in

²⁸⁷ I, i., pp. 30-31.

²⁸⁸ The appeal in part: "Unsere Sache ist die Sache Deutschlands. Mit Oesterreich war Deutschland glücklich und selbstständig, nur durch Oesterreichs Beistand kann es beides wieder werden. Deutsche, würdigt eure Lage! Nehmt die Hilfe an, die wir euch bieten! Wirkt mit zu eurer Rettung!" Cf. Oncken, *op. cit.*, II, 421.

²⁸⁹ *Andreas Hofer* plays form a not unimportant group in the general category of patriotic plays. The 1919-35 period includes several. Cf. App. II, nos. 8, 16, 17, 50, 53, 57, 64.

²⁹⁰ I, i., p. 8.

²⁹¹ II, ii., p. 56.

1806,²⁹² and such an alliance is represented as a reality of 1813 in the Gneisenau plays. As everyone knows, the union was far from being really harmonious and both Goetz and Leyst present Austria's rôle unfavorably. The second scene of Goetz' drama contains a mild but effective satire on Austria's reluctance to join an alliance in March, 1813. In the opinion of one soldier the Austrians are traitors, and another, parodying the *Hermannsschlacht*, cynically asks the Austrian chargé who is on his way to an audience with the Prussian king: "Wann reichen uns Marbods Mannen die Hand zum heiligen Kampf?"²⁹³ At the end of Leyst's play we see Metternich and Kaiser Franz putting pressure on Frederick William III to thwart the aggressive tactics of Gneisenau who wants to have Napoleon relentlessly pursued and captured. The emperor of course maintains that he is nevertheless as patriotic a member of the Prussia-Germany-Austria triangle as the king:

. . . I fühl alles Elend mit Daitschlandt genau so gut wie Euer König—aber wir müssen anders zum Frieden kommen. . . .²⁹⁴

The most satisfactory subject for our discussion of the *Preussen-Deutschland* motif is Kaibel's *Hochverrat*. The essence of the play is the depiction of the conversion of Yorck from his narrow Prussianism to become a firm exponent of the national viewpoint, "Prussia for Germany's sake." Kaibel accomplishes this by giving Yorck the Pan-German Stein as an argumentative opponent. At the beginning of the play Yorck responds to the thought of a united Germany with the curt "Mir genügt Preussen,"²⁹⁵ and he is very abrupt with Stein when the latter insists that he is a "deutscher Mann" and appeals to him as such.²⁹⁶ Stein, furthermore, is brutally frank with Yorck and does not shy at the strongest criticism of Prussia and her system. From what we already know of Kaibel's purpose in this play, it is natural to find that much of Stein's criticism is as relevant to 1918-19 as to 1806-12. Thus Stein's frontal attack on Prussian militarism and the Prussian-German antithesis it discloses:

²⁹² II, pp. 65-66.

²⁹³ I. iv., p. 54.

²⁹⁴ IV, p. 94.

²⁹⁵ I. vi., p. 34.

²⁹⁶ I. ix., p. 41.

Stein: . . . Ich sehe . . . den Zusammenbruch des Militarismus hier wie dort.

Yorck: Sie sprechen zu einem Preussen.

Stein: Ich betonte, dass ich einen Deutschen zu finden erwarte.²⁹⁷

Stein proceeds a little later to explain to Yorck in detail his ideal of a republican Germany which he says offers the only possibility of welding the Germans together into a nation. It is important to reflect here that Kaibel wrote the play in 1919 and not 1933. The fervent disavowal at that time of Prussianism, vintage of 1914, is clearly implied in the following denunciation, also by Stein:

Nichts bleibt ewig, und darum habe ich Jena gesegnet, was die starren Götzen einer untergehenden Welt in Trümmer warf. Von allen deutschen Eigenbrödeleien war die preussische die schlimmste, denn sie wurde vom Grössenwahn der Macht getragen . . . wir fühlten uns als erstes Heer der Welt, wir hatten die besten Soldaten, die besten Kanonen . . . das beste Offizierkorps. Wir konnten gar nicht besiegt werden. Wir gingen gegen die Welt los, weil man uns diese Predigt tagaus tagein in die Ohren schrie . . . und unser Offizierskorps, das berühmte des grossen Friedrichs? Es zeigte sich als eine dünnkelhafte Kaste, die so turmhoch erhaben über dem Narsoldaten stand, das jede menschliche Fühlung verloren gegangen war.

. . . ²⁹⁸

The first effects of Stein's persuasion are indicated in the closing lines of the first act where Yorck confesses: ". . . ich werde mich wohl an den Namen Deutschland gewöhnen müssen."²⁹⁹ Yorck's conversion is practically accomplished at the end of the next act. Dictating his letter to the king that will inform the latter of his action at Tauroggen he says:

Die Umstände . . . zwingen mich, einen gewaltsamen Bruch mit Frankreich herbeizuführen, um die *letzte deutsche Armee* und damit *Deutschland* zu retten.³⁰⁰

And the play ends with Yorck impressing upon the representatives of the East Prussian Estates: "Wir sind Deutsche!"³⁰¹

Kaibel's play also depicts some minor figures, officers of Yorck, quarreling violently about the concepts "Prussian" and "German" and what Prussia's attitude toward Germany should be. To one of-

²⁹⁷ I. ix., pp. 42-43.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

²⁹⁹ I. xiii., p. 60.

³⁰⁰ II. x., p. 99. Italics are mine.

³⁰¹ III. vi., p. 129.

ficer Stein is a traitor, to the other, the noblest patriot; to the first, Prussia is a nation, to the latter, only "ein Brocken einer Nation, wie die andern Brocken," and to one a "German" officer is not a "Prussian" officer.³⁰²

The nature of the plays with which we are dealing pre-determines the practical exclusion of the cultural aspects of the Prussia-Germany issue. The contrast is suggested, however, in a speech by the above "pro-German" wherein he uses Weimar as the symbol for true German culture:

Berlin, Berlin, dieses verfluchte Berlin!—Weimar müsste Deutschlands Hauptstadt werden!³⁰³

In Schwarz' plays also Weimar functions as a politico-cultural symbol. In reply to Stein's insistence that he is pleading only for ancient German rights which the Prussian system has suppressed, the ultra-Prussian Marwitz remarks: "Sie haben zuviel Humanismus im Leibe, Stein! Sie passen nach Weimar, aber nicht nach Berlin!"³⁰⁴

Kleist's *Hermannsschlacht* of 1808, which is a clear allegory of his own times, is imbued with a Pan-German spirit hostile to all particularism and in its dream of a united Germany shows no special preference for a Prussian Germany. In the next year, in fact, Kleist was very hopeful that Austria might prove the successful leader. It is commonly inferred, however, that the defeat of the Austrians left him convinced that Prussia then remained the only hope, and that he proceeded to extol the virtues of her military state in *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* (1810) since he saw that the liberation of Germany would have to be accomplished by military force.³⁰⁵ We have seen that this example from classic literature of the wavering between a preference for a German Prussia and a Prussian Germany is echoed in our own patriotic plays in a multitude of tones, sometimes clear, sometimes confused. The most entrancing feature of this *Preussen-Deutschland* complex is that it lives on as an organic part of

³⁰² II. i., p. 61 *et passim*.

³⁰³ II. i., p. 64.

³⁰⁴ I, p. 35. Jäckh, *op. cit.*, places great emphasis on this contrast in his arguments for a sympathetic understanding of republican Germany.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Meyer-Benfey, *Kleists Leben und Werke*, (Göttingen, Otto Hopke, 1911), p. 308.

German life and that notwithstanding considerable progress towards a fusion of the two concepts in the past hundred years, the antitheses still exist. Thus the revolution of 1918 seemed to proclaim a victory for the Stein-Weimar Germany—until the counterrevolution of 1933 re-affirmed, for a time at least, and more completely than ever before, the conquest of the Prussian-Potsdam element.

CONCLUSION

German life flows on. The Germans of 1919-35 are not the Germans of 1806-15; they have passed on forever. But the few short generations that intervened, although they worked, largely through the industrial revolution and the rise of social consciousness, tremendous changes in the external features of German life, could neither obliterate nor radically change the deeper trends of communal existence. So when the defeat of 1918 suddenly precipitated a wave of national crises startlingly similar to those which had swept over the Napoleonic generation, spiritual currents that had characterized the earlier period once more emerged to provide the present with a distinctive profile, entirely new, yet bearing the imprint of the old. This phenomenon of recurrent *mores et acta* could be studied in many expressions of national life but in none with more promise than the category of dramatic literature which forged a deliberate link between the German past and its kindred present—historical drama that drew its inspiration from the Napoleonic era.

The hero plays chosen to represent this category have yielded a rich commentary on the peculiar concern of the seeking, stumbling yet ever striving Germans of the present era for that generation of their forefathers which suffered and survived the upheaval of Napoleonic times. They disclosed to us the Germans of 1806-15 writhing under the humiliation of foreign intervention and control, hating the executors thereof, the French; suffering from the ravagings of a fated tendency to internal dissension manifested in personal and group animosities, in the conflict between emotional and rational patriotic behavior, in political particularism. Further, through the medium of these dramatizations, we witnessed the Napoleonic generation subjecting monarchism to severe scrutiny, debating the virtues of Prussianism, the wisdom of accepting the Prussian system as the foundation of a national state, and, in this connection, weighing the merits of their traditional attachment to the duty-imperative as an ideal attribute of personal and national character. The plays showed us these Germans, through it all, seeking and finding inspiration for renewed faith in themselves as Germans and in their nation Germany from the deeds of their super-hero, Fred-

erick the Great, and their contemporary heroes, Queen Louise, Louis Ferdinand, Schill, Yorck, and Gneisenau.

Simultaneously, significant detail—from plays of whatever rank—of intent, content, composition, and popular reception revealed what our knowledge of events in post-war Germany confirms: that all these currents of Germanism were pulsing through the arteries of national life from 1919 to 1935. These details also revealed every imaginable treatment of history and historical personages. Thus history was stereotyped, parodied, parroted, and exploited and distorted *ad captandum vulgus*; also, fortunately, it was the subject of sincere attempts to interpret the true spirit of the past for the benefit of the nobler instincts of the present. In the few significant plays these attempts were executed with, and in the lesser plays without, effective ability to re-create life imaginatively on the stage.

The manifestations of German nationalism in fact and expression which our plays offer receive added significance from the importance of the rôle that historical drama has played in Germany since the World War. However, in viewing the revival of this type of literature, for which the Germans always harbor a peculiar affection, the critically-minded lament that quality has not been proportionate to quantity—although representatives of the former, four of which are in our group, are reasonably significant specimens of dramatic literature judged by any standard. The believers in high tragedy based on the nation's history as the highest expression of the national soul are keenly disappointed that Germany at such a momentous period in her history has not produced this ideal drama. They have set their hope on the emergence of a dramatic poet who will compare with Shakespeare and duplicate his *Histories*; or at least on the emergence of a modern Kleist. Thus Fräulein Gerda Dietz, after surveying the whole field of recent historical drama, ends emotionally with a question and a postulate:

Wird die politisch-nationale Erhebung, die Bewegtheit und Erschütterung unserer Tage auch die geistig-menschlichen Quellen frei werden lassen, aus denen das wahre Kunstwerk entstehen kann, dessen wir als *Zusammenklang der Kräfte der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, als Synthese von Tradition und Revolution, als Fanal deutschen Geistes und Symbol deutschen Wesens und deutscher Kraft* immer noch harren?

Der Boden ist bereitet, die Zeit ist reif—für das grosse nationalhistorische, deutsche Drama!³⁰⁶

And Wolf Braumüller, in a short review of post-1933 dramatic production, denounces the run-of-the-mine historical play as a "Vergewaltigung einer dem Zeitbild der Gegenwart gefügigen historischen Persönlichkeit" and laments: "Und wie bitter notwendig hätten wir doch einen Kleist unserer Zeit!"³⁰⁷

Despite this apparent alertness on the part of patriotic literati it is by no means certain that the author of the longed-for "grosse, nationalhistorische deutsche Drama" would fare any better than Kleist. This speculation, however, need not concern us here. From the perspective assumed by our study, the remarkable surge of the post-war generation of Germany to invoke through the dramatic medium the trials and triumphs of a similarly fated generation of its forbears is a phenomenon interesting and important enough for its own sake and certainly as significant as the possible emergence of an ideal drama. From our perspective we were able to realize the essential homogeneity of this phenomenon while preserving valid ethical and aesthetic distinctions which would indicate the natural hierarchy of artistic expression.

The pyramid that charted our study suggested that the currents of nationalism in the dramas at all levels of articulation issued from a common source, namely the national self-consciousness of the German people from 1919 to 1935. In the exposition, the specific manifestations of these currents which the various plays offered were constantly related to this common source so that appropriate stress might be given their significance as interesting revelations of a vital phase of the German national life of the period. The aim was to present as full and objective a concept of the living forces in the German national consciousness as the representative group of plays afforded. Accordingly, certain features of the cruder attempts to dramatize significant events from the nation's past in the lower strata were just as important for our purpose as the more competent

³⁰⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

³⁰⁷ "Die dram. Produktion der Gegenwart," *Die neue Literatur*, XXXV (1934), 438.

and more inspired dramatizations in the higher groups. The examination brought out, however, that while neither the finer nor the baser aspects of nationalism were the exclusive property of any one level of articulation, the authors of dramas ranked as Genuine Art possessed a keener perception of its deeper values than the less discriminating minds of their weaker fellow-dramatists whose works belonged at or nearer the Volkskunst level.

APPENDIX I

Alfred Steinitzer: *Und dennoch!* 1922.

This anomalous work, which is neither history nor drama but attempts to be both, deserves some mention because it embraces the whole era of German history with which we have been concerned, presents scenes revelant of the career of all the heroes, and was written with the self-admitted purpose of deepening the popular consciousness of the significance of that era for the defeated nation of the early nineteen-twenties.

Delving into memoirs, diaries, letters, documents, and state papers, Steinitzer has endeavored to reconstruct the course of history, 1806-15, in a succession of dialogues wherein the various prominent personalities speak their own words, or words which they logically might have spoken. The result is a series of historical scenes, *tableaux vivants*, with the only connecting link being the chronological progress of events from Jena to Waterloo and after. These scenes are divided into three groups to correspond to the three main phases of Germany's political fortunes during the Napoleonic era. They are: *Der Zusammenbruch* (1806-07); *Die Erneuerung* (1807-13); *Die Befreiung* (1813-15). The conversations are largely informative and only incidentally dramatic. The whole might be termed an historical text written in the first person instead of the third, with a number of first persons expressing their historical selves in sequence and in the presence of each other. In our pyramid *Und dennoch!*, representing a stage of "drama" that has scarcely emerged from the state of being historical source material and in which the element of "art" is definitely confined to the artificial, would belong on the borderline between *Volk* and *Volkskunst*.

Below is quoted practically the whole of the author's introduction to these historical scenes, for it expresses, as a guide to dramatic motive in its most primitive form, full evidence of what the Napoleonic era was to mean to the post-war generation. The intent to leaven the present with the spirit of the past and to stress analogues of circumstance was not expressed as openly or as completely in any one of the fully developed products of dramatic endeavor with which the main body of the thesis was concerned. A few phrases which have especial significance in the light of our previous discussion are appropriately stressed:

ZUM GELEITE!

Das Deutschland Wilhelms I. und Bismarcks ist niedergeworfen, zertrümmert, entehrt. Es ist machtloser als das 1806 versunkene heilige römische Reich deutscher Nation, machtloser als das von Napoleon I. in Fesseln geschlagene Preussen.

Wie damals hat nach 1890, nach der Entlassung des grossen Kanzlers, eine *unfähige äussere und innere Politik* die Katastrophe vorbereitet, da sie nicht verstanden hat, die Kräfte der Nation zur Entfaltung zu bringen.

Und dennoch hat das deutsche Volk mehr als vier Jahre einer ganzen Welt erfolgreichen Widerstand geleistet!

Hunger, Not und Sorge haben die Daheimgebliebenen versehrt und den Boden bereitet, auf dem *Volksverführer und Vaterlandsverräter den Zusammenbruch des nicht besiegten Heeres* und den Sturz des Kaisertums herbeiführen konnten.

Und dennoch, trotz aller inneren Wirren, trotz alles äusseren Druckes ist noch soviel des Gesunden und Tüchtigen in diesem zusammengebrochenen, seiner Wehr beraubten Volke, dass nur völlige Vernichtung die Furcht seiner Feinde bannen könnte!

Die Sieger ohne Sieg strengen sich an *Sklavenketten* zu schmieden; sie finden leider Unterstützung bei *undeutsch fühlenden leitenden und missleiteten Volksgenossen*. . . . !

Und dennoch! soll das deutsche Volk politisch wieder gesunden und sich aufrichten, denn die Mehrheit ist in ihrem Kern gut!

Was könnte geeigneter sein, die Hoffnung zu beleben in dieser Stunde der Not, als die Erinnerung, dass Deutschland schon einmal so tief gesunken war und sich dennoch wieder erhoben hat, was könnte kräftiger anspornen zu vaterländischem Denken und Tun, als das Beispiel der Männer, die damals durch die Stärke ihrer Seele und den Schwung ihres Handelns die Nation mitfortrissen und aus dem Elend erlösten.

In diesen geschichtlichen Szenen sprechen die Helden des Geistes und des Schwertes, wie auch ihre Widersacher mit ihren eigenen Worten.

Mag die Zukunft auch noch von düsterem Nebel erfüllt sein, mag das Gift der Lüge auch noch kreisen. . . .

Und dennoch, dennoch kann dem deutschen Volke wieder die Sonne scheinen, wird wieder reines Blut in seinen Adern fliessen. Aber dazu ist vonnöten, dass es der grossen Zeiten seiner Vergangenheit, dass es seiner Helden wieder eingedenk wird. Ohne Kenntnis der Geschichte gibt es kein bewusstes Volkstum, denn dieses ist in dem Bewusstsein, dass das Volk etwas historisch Gewordenes ist, verankert.

Möchten die Stimmen jener Führer, jener Erwecker des Volkes einen Widerhall finden im heutigen Geschlecht. Möchte ihr mahnender Geist sich auswirken zur lebenden Tat!¹

¹ Cf. App. II, no. 14.

APPENDIX II

PLAYS FIRST PERFORMED OR FIRST PUBLISHED 1919-1935 WHICH
ARE BASED ON SOME PHASE OF GERMAN HISTORY 1803-1815

(Chief credit for the following compilation and for its relative completeness is due Dr. Wilhelm Frels of the *Deutsche Bücherei*, Leipzig. The list does not, in general, include the plays which represent "commerce in provincial and schoolboy patriotism.")

1919

1. BUTTMANN, RUDOLF. *Reichsfreiherr vom Stein*. Tragische Dichtung. Tl. 1. Munich: Lehmann, 1919.
2. KAIBEL, FRANZ. *Hochverrat*. Theaterstück in einem Zwiesgespräch und 3 Akten. Munich: Lehmann, 1919.
First performed: Altenburg, Landestheater, March 2, 1923.

1920

3. BUCHHORN, JOSEF. *Der Schäfer von Jena*. Schauspiel in 4 Aufzügen. Berlin: Staatspolitischer Verlag, 1920.
4. JANSSEN, ALBRECHT. *Almuth Folkerts*. Ein niederdeutsches Drama in 5 Aufzügen. Leer: Leendertz, 1920.
5. ROSENDAHL, WISMAR. *Lied der Liebe*. Volksstück mit Gesang.
First performed: Berlin, Rosetheater, April, 1920.
6. SCHILLER, RUDOLF. *Die wilden Männer dulden es nicht*. Volksstück in 4 Akten.
First performed: Plauen, Stadttheater, May, 1920.
7. SEBRECHT, FRIEDRICH. *Kleist*. Deutsche Tragödie. 5 Aufzüge. Gera: Preussische Druckerei, 1920.
8. TELSCHOW, GEORG. *Andreas Hofer*. Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen. Güstrow: Selbstverlag, 1920.

1921

9. FALKE, ROBERT. *Die Brüder von Wedel*. Drama in 5 Akten.
First performed: Wernigerode, Kurtheater, July, 1921.
10. LISSAUER, ERNST. *Yorck*. Schauspiel in 5 Akten und einem Vorspiel. Berlin: Oesterheld, 1921.
First performed: Kiel, Schauspielhaus, September 6, 1924.

11. UNRUH, FRITZ VON. *Louis Ferdinand Prinz von Preussen*.
First performed: Darmstadt, Hessisches Landestheater,
March 22, 1921.

1922

12. BERBERICH, WILLY. *Palm*. Tragödie in 5 Akten.
First performed: Nürnberg, Stadttheater, May, 1922.
13. FOERSTER, HENRIETTE CLARA VON. *Die Rose von Tilsit*. Vater-
ländisches Drama in 4 Akten. Berlin: DOB-Verlag, 1922.
14. STEINITZER, ALFRED. *Und dennoch!* Geschichtliche Szenen
1806-1815. Munich: Bassermann, 1922.

1923

15. ADOLFI, FRANZ. *Land in Not*. Volksoper.
First performed: Stralsund, Stadttheater, January 20, 1923.
16. AMMANN, KARL. *Volk in Not*. Totenspiel. Greifswald:
Moninger, 1923.
17. ELSNER, RICHARD, *Andreas Hofer*. Die Tragödie eines Vol-
kes. Berlin: Deutsche Kulturgemeinschaft, 1923.
18. KAYSER, WILHELM. *Die elf Schillschen Offizier*. Historisch-
vaterländisches Volksschauspiel mit Gesang. Mühlhausen
i. Thür: Danner, 1923.
19. KLIMSCH, ULI. *Die Schillschen*. Schauspiel in 5 Aufzügen.
Freiburg: Pontos-Verlag, 1923.
20. PEYNE, BRUNO. *Deutsche Not*. Plattdeutsches Drama.
First performed: Altona, Niederdeutsche Bühne, April 11,
1923.
21. SANDER, OTTO. *Heinrich von Kleist*. Deutsche Tragödie.
Köln: Rheinlandverlag, 1923.
22. SOLMS, BERNHARD. *Vor der Zeit*. Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen.
Freiburg: Pontos-Verlag, 1923.

1924

23. GROTE, H. H. *Heilige Saat*. Eine Dichtung vom 1806/07.
Essen: Schlinghoff, 1924.
24. HAUSEN, HEINRICH FREIHERR VON. *Für Freiheit und Vater-
land*. Schauspiel in 5 Akten aus Deutschlands Freiheits-
kämpfen 1812-13. Leipzig: O. Teich, 1924.

25. LIENHARD, FRIEDRICH. *Die Bäckerin von Winstein. Schills Offiziere*. 2 Spiele für die Laienbühne. Leipzig: Strauch, 1924.
26. PUESCHEL, ERNST. *Morgenleuchten*. Ein deutsches Spiel in 4 Akten. Neudietendorf: Püschel, 1924.
27. SAENGER, OSKAR. *Die Retter der Königin Luise*. Stück aus dem Jahre 1807 in 3 Aufzügen. Nissma: O. Saenger, 1924.
28. SCHEFFLER, ALBERT. *Graf Yorck von Wartenburg*. Vaterländisches Schauspiel in 4 Akten. Lyck: Selbstverlag, 1924.
29. WEITZER, RUDOLF B. "N". Ein Trauerspiel aus eines Volkes schwerster Zeit. Graz: Deutsche Vereins-Druckerei, 1924.
30. WELCKER, HEINRICH. *Aus tiefer Not . . . !* 4 Einakter.
1. *Die letzten Stunden*. 2. *Reiterattacke*. 3. *Die 3 Kosaken*.
4. *Die Erlösung*. Leipzig: Th. Weicher, 1924.
31. WILKS, B. *Weihnachten am Rhein 1812/13*. Drama aus Deutschlands Befreiungstagen in 5 Akten. Münster: Vollmer, 1924.

1925

32. ENGELHARD, KARL. *Dörnberg*. Schauspiel aus der Geschichte in 5 Akten mit einem Vor- und Nachspiel. Melsungen: Heimatschollen-Verlag A. Bernecker, 1925.
33. GOETZ, WOLFANG. *Neidhardt von Gneisenau*. Schauspiel. Leipzig und Köln: Kuner, 1925.
First performed: Stuttgart, Landestheater, November 28, 1925.
34. HARTWIG, PAUL HERMANN. *Palm*. Vaterländisches Schauspiel in 3 Akten. Dresden: Mitteldeutsches Verlagsbüro, 1925.
35. HAUPTVOGEL, FRANZ EHREGOTT. *Die letzte Stunde der Völkerschlacht 19. 10. 1813*. Leipzig: Haessel, 1925.
36. JOBST, JULIA. *Als Kurier des Königs*. Lustspiel in 1 Aufzug aus den Befreiungskriegen. Berlin: Eduard Bloch, 1925.
37. PHILIPPI, SIEGFRIED. *Königin Luise*. Historisches Schauspiel in 3 Aufzügen. Leipzig: Richter, 1925.
38. SONJEWSKI, ROLF VON. *Denn deine Trommel, Prohaska, sie ruft*. Dramatische Skizze aus Deutschlands Befreiungskampf 1813. Leipzig: Weicher, 1925.

39. WILDNER, ADOLF. *Aufbruch*. Ein Bild aus den Febertagen 1813. Reichenberg: Sudetendeutscher Verlag Kraus, 1925.

1926

40. BERGER, LUDWIG. *Kronprinzessin Luise*. 3 Akte. Berlin: Propyläen, 1926.
First performed: Berlin, Künstlertheater, January 15, 1926.
41. BERGER, LUDWIG. *Luise, Königin von Preussen*. 4 Akte und 1 Nachspiel. Berlin: Propyläen, 1926.
First performed: Berlin, Lessingtheater, February 17, 1926.
42. BLACHNY, FRITZ. *Der böse Baron*. Vaterländisches Drama in 4 Aufzügen nach dem gleichnamigen Schreckenbachschen Roman. Dessau: Selbstverlag, 1926.
43. HEYNICKE, KURT. *Kampf um Preussen*. Schauspiel. Leipzig: Schauspiel-Verlag, 1926.
First performed: Hannover, Städtische Bühnen, November 27, 1926.
44. KONDRUSS, HANS. *Scholle und Schwert*. Schauspiel aus der Zeit der Bauernbefreiung durch den Freiherrn v. Stein 1806-1809 in 9 Bildern. Leipzig: Strauch, 1926.
45. LENZ, LEO. *Totenkopffhusaren*. Ein heiteres Stück aus der Napoleonzeit in 4 Akten. Bühnen-Ms. Berlin: Vertriebsstelle des Verbandes Deutscher Bühnenschriftsteller, 1926.
First performed: Dresden, Deutsches Schauspielhaus.
46. LUX, HANS ARTHUR. *Preussen*. Schauspiel. Düsseldorf: Lintz, 1926.
47. STEGUWEIT, HEINZ. *Schwärmer*. Schauspiel in 4 Akten.
First performed: Remscheid, Schauspielhaus, 1926.

1927

48. GLOEDEN, BENNO VON. *Preussens Sturz und Erhebung*. Frankfurt a. M.: Gebr. Knauer, 1927.
49. KOCH, PAUL. *Der Pfarrer von Sternberg*. (*Unter dem Franzosenjoch*). Ein vaterländisches Schauspiel in 4 Akten. Bearb. und hrsg. von Arthur Schmid. Weimar: Böhlau, 1927.
50. LIPPL, ALOIS JOHANNES. *Das Erler Andreas-Hofer-Spiel*. 12 Bilder aus dem Tiroler Befreiungskampf. Innsbruck:

Verlagsanstalt Tyrolia, 1927.

First performed: Oetigheim, Naturbühne, June 1, 1930.

51. MENGERSHAUSEN, HEINRICH VON. *1814*. Ein Volksschauspiel in 5 Akten. Würzburg: Memminger, 1927.
52. PABST, ERICH. *Fischerobermeister Mundt*. Histor. Spiel in 1 Aufzug aus dem Jahre 1803. Weissenfels: Leop. Kell, 1927.
53. SCHOENHERR, KARL. *Der Judas von Tirol*. Volksschauspiel in 3 Akten. Leipzig: Staackmann, 1927.
First performed: Köln, Schauspielhaus, November 26, 1927.

1928

54. BRAUNY, BERNHARD. *Schill*. Ein deutsches Heldengedicht in 5 Akten. Leipzig: Hillmann, 1928.
55. PHILIPP, HANS. *Eleonore Prohaska*. Trauerspiel in 5 Akten.
First performed: Potsdam, Schauspielhaus, April 11, 1928.
56. VOGEL, THEODOR. *Jahn*. Ein dramatisches Lebensbild in 8 Szenen. Würzburg: Frank u. Pälz, 1928.

1929

57. GLUTH, OSKAR. *Andreas Hofer*. Drama.
First performed: Naturbühne Luisenburg, July 14, 1929.
58. LILIENFEIN, HEINRICH. *Nacht in Polen 1812*. Drama in 3 Akten. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1929.
First performed: Weimar, Nationaltheater, November 19, 1929.
59. SASSMANN, HANS. *Metternich*. Historisches Schauspiel in 5 Akten. 2d edition. Berlin: Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 1930.
First performed: Vienna, Burgtheater, October 1, 1929.

1930

60. BAUER, ERNST. *Der Löwenwirt von Neckarsulm. Peter Heinrich Muckle, ein Leidensgenosse Palms, ein Opfer napoleonischer Grausamkeit*. Heimatspiel in 3 Bildern mit Vorspiel. Neckarsulm: Unterländische Volkszeitung, 1930.
First performed: Neckarsulm, June 29, 1930.
61. BAUER, FRANZ. *Friedrich Ludwig Jahn*. Schauspiel. Teplitz-Schönau: Warenversandhaus des Deutschen Turnverbandes, 1930.

62. LAMPEL, PETER MARTIN. *Putsch. Oder die Männer um Schill.*
First performed: Koblenz, Stadttheater, March 7, 1930.
63. LEYST, CARL. *Aspern.* Berlin: Sphynx-Verlag, 1930.
First performed: Weimar, Nationaltheater, March 22, 1930.
64. SCHARE, FRIEDRICH. *Der Verräter von Tirol.* Schauspiel in 5
Aufzügen. Essen-Steele: Webels, ca. 1930.
65. SCHRAMM, WILHELM VON. *Donautragödie.*
First performed: Augsburg, February, 1930.

1931

66. ROESER, HEINRICH. *Andreas Kayser.* Ein Schauspiel aus der
Franzosenzeit (1809-1813) in 5 Aufzügen. Melsungen: Ber-
necker, 1931.

1932

67. HEISELER, BERNT VON. *Der Gasthof in Preussen.* Ein Vorspiel
1813. Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1932.
68. RICHTHOFEN, HARTMANN VON. *Hardenberg.* Schauspiel.
First performed: Hannover, Schauspielhaus, November 5,
1932.
69. ROEMER, HEINRICH. *Nettelbeck.* Vaterländisches Schauspiel.
Berlin: Hillger, 1935.
First performed: Kolberg, Freilichtbühne, July 17, 1932.
70. SCHAEFER, WALTER ERICH. *Der 18. Oktober.* Schauspiel in 3
Akten. Stuttgart: Dieck, 1932.
First performed: Munich, Prinzregententheater, February
18, 1932.

1933

71. BEYER, PAUL. *Geist der Freiheit.* Ein Theodor Körner-Legen-
denspiel.
First performed: Leipzig, Altes Theater, June 15, 1933.
72. ERNST, PAUL. *Yorck.* Schauspiel in 5 Aufzügen. Munich;
Langen-Müller, 1932.
First performed: Aachen, Danzig, Kiel, and Münster, Oc-
tober 10, 1933.
73. FAEHLER, KARL. *Die Tragödie Kleist.*
First performed: Frankfurt a. d. Oder, Krefeld, Bamberg,

- Hanau, Rostock, Guben, Altenburg, Baden-Baden, Wilhelmshaven, October 18, 1933.
74. FLOTOW, LI VON. *Stein, Wegbereiter des Volkes*. Drama.
First performed: Glogau, Stadttheater, January 28, 1933.
75. FRANK, HANS. *Kleist*. Ein vaterländisches Spiel. Berlin-Charlottenburg: Volkschaft-Verlag, 1933.
76. HEYCK, HANS. *Kleist*.
First performed: Magdeburg and Kottbus, November 21, 1933.
77. JAEGER, FRITZ. *Um die Freiheit*. Vaterländisches Schauspiel aus der Zeit der Freiheitskriege.
First performed: Plauen, Stadttheater, December 9, 1933.
78. KLAEHRE, B. *Zwei Reisen nach Potsdam*. Vaterländisches Festspiel mit 1 Vorspiel. Salzwedel: Altmark-Verlag Deutsches Buchhaus, 1933.
79. KLIMSCH, ULI. *Kleists Tod*.
First performed: Dessau, Friedrichstheater, November 19, 1933.
80. KOENIGSEGG, ADDA VON: *Luise von Preussen*. 4 Bilder aus ihrem Leben. Leipzig: Strauch, 1933.
81. KYSER, HANS. *Schicksal um Yorck*. Bielefeld: Velhagen u. Klasing, 1933.
First performed: Leipzig, Altes Theater, April 11, 1933.
82. LEYST, CARL. *Gneisenau und Napoleon*. Historisches Schauspiel in 4 Akten. Berlin: Sphynx-Verlag, 1933.
First performed: Potsdam, Schauspielhaus, April 12, 1933.
83. PAQUET, ALFONS. *Freiherr vom Stein*. Eine Chordichtung. Berlin-Charlottenburg: Volkschaft-Verlag, 1933.
84. PEISELER, JOHANN GOTTLIEB. *Jupiter Morsbach*. Schauspiel in 6 Bildern. Leipzig: Ballin u. Töpfer, 1933.
85. PETZOLD, MAX. *York*. Schauspiel in 4 Aufzügen. Berlin: Drei Masken-Verlag.
First performed: Elbing, Stadttheater, November 15, 1933.
86. REDMER, GOTTHILF. *Einmarsch*. Schauspiel.
First performed: Wiesbaden, Stadttheater, October 14, 1933.
87. SCHMIDT, EMIL. *Hofrätin Tiedemann*. Eine deutsche Komödie in 5 Aufzügen. Radolfszell: Heim-Verlag, 1933.

88. WEINZIERL, WALTER. *Batlogg, Ein Freiheitsdrama*. Dornbirn: G. Höfle, 1933.
89. WUNSCH, H. *Franzosenzeit*. Nach Fritz Reuter.
First performed: Schwerin, Stadttheater, November 25, 1933.

1934

90. BUNGE, KARL. *De Desertörs. Spill in 3 Törns ut de Franzo-sentid* 1813.
First performed: Hamburg, Niederdeutsche Bühne, September 19, 1934.
91. GOWER, ERICH. *Theodor Körner*. Vaterländisches Spiel in 4 Aufzügen (6 Bildern). Mühlhausen: Danner, 1934.
First performed: Guben, Stadttheater, February 13, 1934.
92. GROTE, H. H. *Stein*. Ein Drama. Berlin: Brunnen-Verlag Bischoff, 1934.
First performed: Chemnitz, Stadttheater, February, 1934.
93. MOELLER, EBERHARD WOLFGANG. *Rothschild siegt bei Waterloo*. Ein Schauspiel. Munich: Langen-Müller, 1934.
First performed: Aachen and Weimar, October 5, 1934.
94. REH, HANS. *Aufbruch 1813. Theodor Körner, der Sänger und Held*. Vaterländisches Volksspiel in 3 Teilen. Langensalza: Beltz, 1934.
First performed: Freiberg, Stadttheater, November 21, 1934.
95. ROSIKAT, ERICH. *Der deutsche Reiter*. Bühnendichtung in 3 Teilen. Munich: Ludendorffs Verlag, 1934.
96. SCHWARZ, HANS. *Prinz von Preussen*. Ein Drama. Breslau: Korn, 1934.
First performed: Bochum, Stadttheater, February 19, 1935.
97. VOGT, HELMUT. *Etappe Preussen*. Schauspiel.
First performed: Mainz, Stadttheater, January 13, 1934.

1935

98. ALTENBERG, PAUL. *Quartier*. Schauspiel in 3 Akten.
First performed: Frankfurt a. M., Neues Theater, January 12, 1935.
99. ARMIN, E. *Palm und Napoleon*. Spiegelbild der Zeit in 5 Akten.

First performed: Munich, Münchner Theater, September 10, 1935.

100. BREDEHOEFT, HERMANN. *Die Nacht auf der Lobau* (1809). Schauspiel in 5 Akten.

First performed: Köln, Schauspielhaus, December 14, 1935.

101. BUCHHORN, JOSEF. *Heinrich von Kleist*. Eine Tragödie. Cottbus: Heine, 1935.

First performed: Frankfurt a. d. Oder, Stadttheater, November 21, 1935.

102. BUCHHORN, JOSEF. *Schill*. Ein Schauspiel. Potsdam: Vögenreiter, 1935.

First performed: Elbing, Stadttheater, December 9, 1924.

103. FORSTER, FRIEDRICH. *Die Weiber von Redditz*. Lustspiel in 3 Aufzügen. Leipzig: Scholtze Nachf., 1935.

104. LICHTNECKER, FRIEDRICH, u. BRANDT, DORA MARIA. *Kreuzgang*. Volksstück in 5 Aufzügen.

First performed: Stralsund, Stadttheater, October 25, 1935.

105. VATER, FRITZ. *Heilige Opfer*. Heimatspiel. 3 Aufzüge. In: F. Ulrich. *Altwied und seine Heimatspiele*. Altwied: 1935. Pp. 53-111.

106. WENTER, JOS. *Johann Philipp Palm*. Schauspiel in 9 Bildern.

First performed: Bad Oeynhausen, Kurtheater, August 14, 1935.

107. ZICKEL VON JAN, REINHOLD. *Europa brennt*. Deutsches Schauspiel in 5 Akten.

First performed: Düsseldorf, Schauspielhaus, June 8, 1935.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCES

- BRAUNY, BERNHARD. *Schill*. Ein deutsches Heldengedicht. Leipzig: Hillmann, 1928.
- BUCHHORN, JOSEF. *Schill*. Ein Schauspiel. Potsdam: Voggenreiter, 1935.
- ERNST, PAUL. *Yorck*. Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Munich: Langen-Müller, 1932.
- GOETZ, WOLFGANG. *Neidhardt von Gneisenau*. Ein Schauspiel. Leipzig: Kuner, 1925.
- KAIBEL, FRANZ. *Hochverrat*. Ein Theaterstück in einem Zwiegespräch und drei Akten. Munich: Lehmann, 1919.
- KAYSER, WILHELM. *Die elf Schillschen Offiziere*. Historisch-vaterländisches Volksschauspiel mit Gesang. Mühlhausen i. Thür: Danner, 1923.
- KLIMSCH, ULI. *Die Schillschen*, Freiburg: Pontos-Verlag, 1923.
- KYSER, HANS. *Schicksal um Yorck*. Bielefeld: Velhagen und Klasing, 1933.
- LEYST, CARL. *Gneisenau und Napoleon*. Historisches Schauspiel in vier Akten. Berlin-Schlachtensee: Sphynx-Verlag, 1933.
- LIENHARD, FRIEDRICH. *Die Bäckerin von Winstein. Schills Offiziere*. 2 Spiele für die Laienbühne. Leipzig: Strauch, 1924.
- LISSAUER, ERNST. *Yorck*. Schauspiel in fünf Akten und einem Vorspiel, 2d., revised edition. Berlin: Oesterheld, 1929.
- ROSIKAT, ERICH. *Der deutsche Reiter*. Eine Bühnendichtung in drei Teilen. Munich: Ludendorffs Verlag, 1934.
- SCHAEFER, WALTER ERICH. *Der 18. Oktober*. Ein Schauspiel in drei Akten. Stuttgart: Dieck, 1932.
- SCHEFFLER, ALBERT. *Graf Yorck von Wartenburg*. Vaterländisches Schauspiel in vier Akten. Lyck: Selbstverlag, 1924.
- SCHWARZ HANS. *Prinz von Preussen*. Breslau: Korn, 1934.
- SOLMS, BERNHARD. *Vor der Zeit*. Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Freiburg im B: Pontos-Verlag, 1923.

- UNRUH, FRITZ VON. *Louis Ferdinand Prinz von Preussen*. Ein Drama. Frankfurt a. M: Frankfurter Societäts-Druckerei, 1925.

SECONDARY WORKS

- BAB, JULIUS. *Befreiungsschlacht*. Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn's Nachfolger, 1928. Chapter: "Politisches Theater."
 ——— *Chronik des Theaters, V. Teil*. Berlin: Oesterheld, 1926.
- BALDUS, ALEX. Review of *Putsch* (Lampel), *Die schöne Literatur*, XXXI (1930), 263.
- BATOR, HANS. Preface to Franz Kranewitter's *Andre Hofer*. Deutsche Hausbücherei, no. 120. Vienna: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag, 1925.
- DE BATTAGLIA, OTTO FORST. "Das historische Drama und die Gegenwart," *Das Nationaltheater*, III (1930), 46-55.
- BOURFEIND, PAUL. Review of *Yorck* (Lissauer), *Die Literatur*, XXX (1927/28), 350.
- BRAUMUELLER, WOLF. "Die dramatische Produktion der Gegenwart," *Die neue Literatur*, XXXVI (1935), 437-439.
- CLEVE, LOTTE. *Das politisch-historische Drama vom Naturalismus bis zum Ende des Weltkrieges*. Potsdam: Hoffmann und Kirchner, 1935. (Rostock diss.)
- Das deutsche Drama: Jahrbuch*.¹ Edited by Richard Elsner. Berlin: Verlag der Deutschnationalbühne, Vols. I-VIII (1929-36).
- Das deutsche Theater: Jahrbuch*. Edited by Paul Bourfeind and others. Bonn: Kurt Schroeder, Vols. I-II (1923-24).
- DIEBOLD, BERNHARD. *Anarchie im Drama*, revised edition. Frankfurt a. M: Verlagsanstalt, 1925.
- DIEBOLD, BERNHARD. "Bilanz der jungen Dramatik," *Die Neue Rundschau*, XXXIV (1933), 734-754.
- Review of *Louis Ferdinand Prinz von Preussen* (Unruh). *Das literarische Echo*, XXIII (1920/21).
- DIETZ, GERDA. *Das historische Drama vor dem Umbruch*. Zeitver-

¹ Referred to in footnotes to text as *Elsner*.

- hältnisse und Zeitströmungen im Spiegelbild der Bühne.* Düsseldorf: G. H. Nolte, 1935. (Bonn diss.)
- ERNST, PAUL. *Der grosse König.* In the collection: *Zehn Geschichten.* Munich: Langen-Müller, 1933.
- *Der Weg zur Form*, 1st edition. Berlin: Julius Bard, 1906.
- FALLADA, HANS. "Lampel, der Jäger," *Die Literatur*, Vol. XXXIV (1931/32).
- FRANCK, HANS. "Historisches Drama (Das Drama der Gegenwart, II)," *Die Literatur*, XXVIII (1925/26), 449-453.
- FRELS, WILHELM. "Die dramatische Produktion des letzten Jahrzehnts (1913-22)," *Deutsche Rundschau*, CC (1924), 283-307.
- "Die dramatische Produktion des Jahres 1926," and articles with like title covering each succeeding year, 1927-35 inclusive. *Die neue (schöne) Literatur*, Vols. XXIX-XXXVII (1928-36).
- FREYHAN, MAX. *Das Drama der Gegenwart.* Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1922.
- GERLACH, KURT. *Drama und Nation.* Breslau: Hirt, 1934.
- GROSS, EDGAR. "Typen des geschichtlichen Dramas der Gegenwart," *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde*, XLII (1928), 263-268.
- HASENKAMP, GOTTFRIED. Review of Yorck (Ernst), *Das deutsche Drama*, VI (1934), 157.
- HAUPTMANN, GERHART. *Festspiel in deutschen Reimen*, Gesamelte Werke, Jubiläumsausgabe. Berlin: S. Fischer, 1922. Vol. VII.
- KAISER, RUDOLF. *Das junge deutsche Drama.* Berlin: Volksbühnenverlag, 1924.
- KLIMSCH, ULI. "Kampf und Not der dramatischen Dichter," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 19, 1935. Partial reprint in *Das deutsche Drama*, Vol. VII (1935).
- KNUDSEN, HANS. Series of articles entitled "Statistik der Kleist-aufführungen," covering the period Sept., 1923, through August, 1928. *Jahrbuch der Kleist-Gesellschaft*, Vols. III-IV (1923-24), IX-X (1927-28), XI-XII (1929-30).

- Review of *Gneisenau und Napoleon* (Leyst), *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung*, Essen. Partial reprint in *Das deutsche Drama*, V (1933), 274-275.
- KOCH, MAX. Review of *Hochverrat* (Kaibel), *Die schöne Literatur*, XX (1919), 214.
- KRAFFT, ERICH. "Kleist und die Historienbühne der Jüngsten," *Das deutsche Theater*, Vol. I (1923).
- KRAUSS, R. Review of *Neidhardt von Gneisenau* (Goetz), *Die Literatur*, XXVIII (1925/26), 230.
- KRELL, MAX. *Das deutsche Theater der Gegenwart: Symposium*. Munich: Rösl, 1924.
- LEHMANN, KARL. *Junge deutsche Dramatiker*. Leipzig: Dietrich, 1923.
- Vom Drama unserer Zeit. Ein Führer zu den jungen deutschen Dramatikern. Neue Folge*. Leipzig: Dietrich, 1924.
- LEMKE, ERNST. "Friedrich der Grosse im deutschen Drama der Gegenwart," *Das deutsche Drama*, III (1931), 7-60.
- LIPMANN, HEINZ. "Die Frage des historischen Dramas," *Die Literatur*, Vol. XXIX (1926/27).
- LOBSIEN, WILHELM. Review of *Yorck* (Lissauer), *Die Literatur*, XXVII (1924/25), 105.
- MAYERHOEFER, ALFRED. Review of *Der 18. Oktober* (Schäfer). *Die neue Literatur*. XXXIII (1932), 327-328.
- MEYER, T. A. "Aktivistisches Drama und seine Problematik," *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde*, Vol. XLV (1931).
- MEYER-BENFEY, HEINRICH. *Kleists Leben und Werke*. Göttingen: Otto Hopke, 1911.
- "Preussendramen," *Die Neue Zeit* (Chicago), V, no. 30 (1923), 13-15.
- NAUDIETH, F. Introduction and notes to *Neidhardt von Gneisenau* (Goetz), school edition. Bielefeld: Velhagen und Klasing, 1932.
- OTTO, F. "Carl Leyst," *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, January 16, 1921.

- PEINE MARTIN, *Das politisch-historische Drama von 1923 bis 1933*. Berlin: Triltsch und Huther, 1936. (Greifswald diss.)
- PETSCH, ROBERT. "Von der Bühnendichtung der jüngsten Vergangenheit," *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde*, XXXVI (1922), 420-445.
- SCHOEMANN, MILIAN. *Weltanschauliche und stilgeschichtliche Wandlungen im deutschen Napoleondrama*. Teildruck. Bonn: Verein Studentenwohl, 1929. (Bonn diss.)
- SCHROEDER, W. VON. Review of *Yorck* (Ernst), *Stuttgarter Neues Tageblatt*. Partial reprint in *Das deutsche Drama*, Vol. VI (1934).
- SPRENGLER, JOSEPH. "Ernst Lissauer als Dramatiker," *Hochland*, Vol. XXIV (1926/27).
- "Historien- und Zeitdrama," *Der literarische Handweiser*, Vol. LXIV (1928).
- "Querschnitt durch das jüngste deutsche Drama, I. Historiendrama," *Der literarische Handweiser*, Vol. LXVI (1930).
- STERNBERG, LEO. Review of *Putsch* (Lampel), *Die Literatur*, XXXII (1929/30), 477.
- Thespis, das Theaterbuch: Symposium*. Edited by Rudolf Rössler. Berlin: Bühnenvolksbund, 1930.
- WELTRICH, RICHARD. "Ueber das Verhältnis des Dramatikers zur Geschichte," *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde*, Vol. XXXVI, 1922.

METHODOLOGICAL WORKS²

- BENDA, OSKAR. *Der gegenwärtige Stand der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*. Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1928.
- FLECHTNER, H.-J. "Buchdrama und Bühnenschauspiel," *Die Literatur*, XXVIII (1925/26), 457-461.
- GEISSENDOERFER, JOHN THEODORE. "Critical Bibliography of Recent Methods in German Literary Research," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXIX (1930), 390-419.

² Listed here are only the most important books and articles consulted, in which other titles may be found.

- HIRSCH, ARNO. "Soziologie und Literaturgeschichte," *Euphorion*, Vol. XXIX (1928).
- LEMPICKI, SIGMUND VON. "Ueber literarische Kritik und die Probleme ihrer Erforschung," *Euphorion*, Vol. XXV (1924).
- MAHRHOLZ, WERNER. *Literargeschichte und Literaturwissenschaft*, 2d., revised edition. Edited by Franz Schultz. Leipzig: Kröner, 1932.
- SCHUECKING, LEVIN. *Soziologie der literarischen Geschmacksbildung*. Munich: Rösl, 1933.

HISTORICAL AND OTHER WORKS³

- Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Various vols.
- BAILLEU, PAUL. *Königin Luise, Ein Lebensbild*. Berlin and Leipzig: Giesecke und Devrient, 1908.
- Der grosse Brockhaus*, 15th edition. Vols. V, XIII.
- DROYSEN, JOHANN GUSTAV. *Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen York von Wartenburg*, 2d edition. Berlin: Veit und Comp., 1851. 3 vols.
- FRANCKE, KUNO. *German After-War Problems*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.
- GOOCH, GEORGE P. *Germany*. N. Y.: Scribner's, 1925.
- HERFORD, C. H. *The Post-War Mind of Germany*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.
- JAECKH, ERNST. *The New Germany*. London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1927.
- Knauers Konversationslexikon*. Berlin, 1934.
- MANTHEY-ZORN, O. *Germany in Travail*. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1922.
- MEYER, A. O. "Auguste Viktoria," *Deutsches Biographisches Jahrbuch*, 1921. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1927.
- New York Times* for March 20, 1937. P. 10.

³ Standard works dealing with German literature of the post-war period, such as Hans Naumann's *Deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart*, are not included in this list.

- ONCKEN, WILHELM. *Das Zeitalter der Revolution, des Kaiserreichs und der Befreiungskriege*. Vol. II. Berlin: Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1886.
- PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, JULIUS. *Das Befreiungsjahr 1813*. Berlin: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1913.
- RADZIWILL, LOUISE (Princess Louise of Prussia). *Forty-five Years of My Life*. Tr. by A. R. Allinson. New York: McBride, Nast and Company, 1912.
- ROSENBERG, ARTHUR. *A History of the German Republic*. Tr. by Ian F. D. Morrow and L. Marie Sieveking. London: Methuen, 1936.
- SCHULZE, FRIEDRICH. *Die Franzosenzeit in deutschen Landen*. Vol. I. Leipzig: R. Voigtländer, 1908.
- SCRIBA, OBERST A.D. CARL VON. "Der Zug Schills nach Stralsund," *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vols. XXXIX-XL (1884).
- TREITSCHKE, HEINRICH VON. *History of Germany in the 19th Century*. Tr. by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: McBride, Nast and Co., 1915-19. Vols. I, II.
- Der Weltkrieg. Bearbeitet im Reichsarchiv*. Vol. IV: *Der Marne-Feldzug. Die Schlacht*. Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1926.
- ZWIEDENECK-SUEDENHORST, H. VON. *Deutsche Geschichte von der Auflösung des alten bis zur Gründung des neuen Reiches*. Stuttgart: Cotta Nachf., 1897-1905. 3 vols. Vol. I.

